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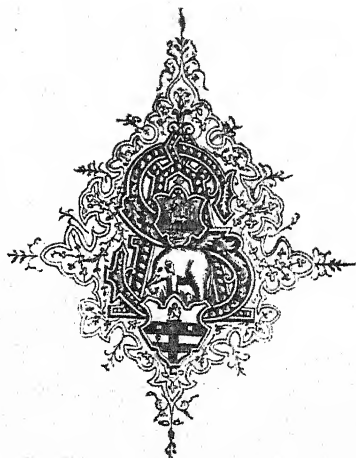
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Caucasica

By H. W. BAILEY

I

KNOWLEDGE of scholarly literature produced in recent years in Georgia is all too little disseminated in England. I was delighted to receive a copy of vol. xiii of the *Bulletin of the Marr Institute of Languages, History, and Material Culture*, published by the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR (*Sakartvelos SSR Mecnierebata Ak'ademia*), Tiflis, 1942. This volume contains "A Bilingual Inscription from Armazi near Mcheta in Georgia," by Professor George Tseretheli, written in Georgian with an almost complete English translation, and with three excellent photographs. The bilingual inscription is in Greek (10 lines) and Aramaic (11 lines), and is one of two inscriptions found at Armazi, 22 km. from Tiflis, in 1940 in excavations under the direction of the late I. Javakhishvili. A report of this discovery was made at the Session of the Scientific Council of the Institute in 1940, and at the first Conference of the Georgian Academy of Sciences on the 1st March, 1941. The Greek inscription was published by S. Qaukhchishvili (Qauḫčišvili) and A. Shanidze in 1941. Professor Tseretheli has analysed the Aramaic inscription, its script, language, and historical significance, and offered a translation. The script which he proposes to call Armazian Aramaic, a new variety of this alphabet, is of great importance for the history of writing in Georgia. The date of the inscription he would give as the first or second century A.D. Since the publication is not easily accessible the transliterated Aramaic is quoted here:—

- 1 'nh s'rpṭṭ brty zy
- 2 zywh qlyl bṭḥš zy prsmn
- 3 mlk 'ntt zy ywdmngn wnsyḥ
- 4 wkbyr 'rwst 'byd' rb
- 5 trbš zy ḥsyprnwg mlk bry
- 6 zy 'gryp rb trbš zy
- 7 prsmn mlk ḥbl ḥblyk m'
- 8 zy prnwš l' gmyr whkyn
- 9 ṭb wšpyr yhwh hyk zy br
- 10 'ynš l' dm' yhwh mn
- 11 ṭbwt wm'ytyn bšnt 2l

"I am Serapit daughter of Zevakh, junior bitakhsh of Parsman the king; wife of Yodmangan both victorious and having wrought many victories, master of the court of Khsefarnug the king; son of Agrippa, master of the court of Parsman the king. Woe, woe (for her) who was not of full age, incomplete, and so good and beautiful that no one was like her in goodness and she died at the age of 21."

The Aramaic is ungrammatical with irregularities similar to those in the Aramaic words of the Sasanian inscriptions. Thus a feminine noun is put with masculine adjective (*l' gmyr* line 8); *bry* 'son' (line 5), and *brty* 'daughter' (line 1) have suffixed -y, possibly the oblique case of Middle Persian, rather than the Aramaic pronoun of the first person, 'my'; the adjective precedes its noun in *qlyl bthš* line 2 and *kbyr 'rwst* line 4. We have also two cases of hendiadys consisting of Aramaic and Persian words in lines 3-4, and of Persian and Aramaic in line 8 according to the interpretation given below; *m' zy* 'what' is used for 'who', lines 7-8, and the verbal form *m'ytyn* in line 11 remains uncertain. It would therefore seem to be the Aramaic of a foreigner, even if not actually hetero-grammatic according to the system familiar in Buddhist Sogdian and Pahlavi (both Christian and Zoroastrian) as also earlier exemplified in Accadian and Hittite. To Professor Tseretheli's discussions three notes must be added:—

(1) The repeated *w* in line 3-4 *w nšyh w kbyr* could be understood to correspond to a Middle Persian *ut ... ut ...* (OPers. *uta ... uta ...*) 'both ... and ...'.

(2) *'rwst* line 4 corresponds to *veikas* (*vikas*) 'victories' acc. plur. of the Greek part of the inscription. Professor Tseretheli could not identify this word, but we must certainly recognize in it Old Pers. *aruvasta-* and the original of the Armenian loanword *arouest* (*aruest*, *arhest*). The meaning of the Old Pers. word *aruvastam*, in Elamite transliteration *har-wa-us-tam*, has been disputed. It corresponds to *it-ba-ru-tum* in the Accadian version of the inscription on Darius's Tomb at Naqš i Rostam (NRb). This same *it-ba-ru-tum* is equated with Old Pers. *huvnara-* in the same inscription. OIran. **hu-nara-* 'skilful; skill' from *hu-* and the verbal base *nar-* 'be strong' (not from *nar-nara-* 'man' directly, as usually stated), survives in Mid. Pers. and New Pers. *humar* 'skill', and corresponds also to Vedic Sanskrit *sūnara-* 'prosperous' with a different development of meaning from *nar-* 'be strong, prosperous' (Indo-Europ.

**su-mer*-). We must certainly attribute the meaning 'skill' to the Accadian *it-ba-ru-tum* and recognize in this word the abstract in *-utu* from an adjective *itbaru* with a meaning attested for the cognate post-biblical Hebrew *hāber* 'learned man', Aramaic *ḥabrā*; and Syriac *ḥabārā* 'conjurer, charmer'; Arabic *ḥabr*, *ḥibr* 'learned man'. For these Semitic references I am indebted to my friend Mr. C. P. T. Winckworth. Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, p. 80, and Kent, *Language* 15 1939 NRb 4, 31, 33, connected the Accadian word with *ibru* 'friend', but this is clearly ruled out. Schaeder in *Morgenland* 28, 96, note 2, had seen the connection of OPers. *aruvasta*- 'skill' with Armenian *aronest* 'art; marvel' (= Gr. τέχνη, τέχνημα, and τέρας). In the present passage **rust arvast* is restricted in meaning to 'successful skill, victory', as is indicated both by the Greek equivalent *veikas* and the Aramaic *nsyh* 'victorious' with which it forms an hendiadys (on such hendiadys, cf. in Pahlavi, Dēnkart (ed. Madan) 456.15 *MRYA ut saχ^oan*, Artāy Vīrāz nāmāk 16.7 *AYNH čašm*). Hence we have the equations *hunar* = *humnara* = *itbarutu* = *aruvasta* = *arouest* = *arvast* = *veikas* 'skill, victory'.

(3) *prnwš* line 8. This word also Professor Tseretheli did not know. If it is recognized that *prnwš* stands in hendiadys with *l' gmyr* 'not complete' and that the double phrase corresponds to *νεωτέρα* of the Greek text, it is easy to see that *prnwš* is probably a modification defectively written of an Old Iran. **aprnāyuš* 'not of full age' known in Avestan *apərənāyuš* and Pahlavi *apurnāy*, NPers. *burnā*. The -š is the ending of the Old Persian nominative.

The inscription with these two Persian words and also *bīhš* **bītaχš* represents the stage at which the originally completely Aramaic text was admitting Persian words, a process which increased with time, just as we find in Buddhist Sogdian texts a larger proportion of Aramaic heterograms than we find in the Manichean, till in the Christian texts they are altogether absent.

Of the other Aramaic inscription found at Armazi three lines are quoted and also the proper name **sprwg*. A study of it is promised in a later publication.

Incidentally in the footnotes other recent books and articles are cited which it may be of use to name here. A. Amiranashvili, *Iberia and the Roman Expansion in Asia*, 1938; I. Abuladze, *Martyrdom of Šušānik*, 1938; N. Pigulevskaja, *Mesopotamia at the turn of the fifth-sixth centuries of our era*, 1940; S. Janashia,

Old Historical Monuments of Georgia, 1941, and *History of Georgia from ancient times to our days*, 1940; P. Ingoroqva, *The Mokceyay Kartlisay and the list of the Kings of Iberia*, 1941; L. Melikset-Bek, *Armenian Epigraphy and the Georgian-Armenian-Persian-Uigur Polyglot Inscription from Mravalmta in Garesja*, 1940; G. Akhvlediani, *Questions of General and Georgian Phonetics*, 1938; Sh. Dzidziguri, *Notions of Synonymous Parallelism*, 1941; T. Goniashvili, *On the history of a sound in Georgian*, 1937.

This is also the place to call attention to an earlier volume of the same *Bulletin of the Marr Institute*, vol. iv, 1938. This contains "The newly discovered alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians and its significance for science", by A. Shanidze, and "On the discovery of the alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians", by I. Abuladze. Professor Shanidze's article is in Russian with summaries in Georgian and French, and is accompanied by photographs. The Albanians of the Caucasus, who lived in what is now the Republic of Azerbaijan, survived as an ethnical entity till the eleventh century and between the fifth and eleventh centuries had developed a rich literature. They had an alphabet of their own, but this too had vanished. It is possible that the Udi language spoken still in two villages, Vartašen and Niš, in the region of Nukha north of the river Kura, may represent the last traces of the Albanian language. A "*History of the land of the Albanians*" (*Patmout'ün Ałouanic' ašxarhi*) was written by Movsēs Kałankatouac'i in the tenth century. The sparse references to the Albanian language, script, and literature are brought together in this article by Professor Shanidze. The discovery of the lost alphabet was made by I. Abuladze in an Armenian manuscript of the fifteenth century containing a miscellany of alphabets Greek, Syriac, Latin, Georgian, Coptic, Arabic, and Albanian. Under each letter of the Albanian alphabet its name was written in Armenian script. Unfortunately no Albanian word or phrase is given. It is thought by Professor Shanidze that a potsherd from Old Ganja may contain an Albanian inscription. The published photograph is not clear enough to permit of comparison.

In the same Armenian manuscript is preserved in seven different languages the Monophysite liturgical prayer "Ἄγιος ὁ θεός, ἄγιος ἰσχυρός, ἄγιος ἀθάνατος, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. One version is said to be in the language of the Medians (*Marac'*) and reads as follows:—

pakəž xodē, pakəž zahm, pakəž vemark, koy
hat' i xač' ē, əškərma . řahmat' ē ma.

This represents therefore one of the earliest vocalized specimens of a North Iranian dialect. The word *zahm* 'strong' is curious. One would have expected *tahm*.

The other versions, all in Armenian script, are in Greek, Syriac, Georgian, Persian, Arabic, and Turkish.

Witchcraft in the Old Testament

By G. R. DRIVER

DR. GUILLAUME, following Professor Mowinkel, has recently examined ¹ a number of passages in the Old Testament in which he suspects traces of magical practices, incidentally throwing light on several obscure Hebrew words and phrases which have hitherto defied interpretation, or rather satisfactory interpretation.

Although, however, some of his suggestions seem eminently convincing, it is difficult to accept his explanation of the mysterious הוֹוָה (*hawwāh*) or הוֹוָה (*hōwāh*) which occurs in eighteen passages of the Hebrew Bible.

Dr. Guillaume, starting from the prophet's

וּבֵא עֲלֶיךָ רָעָה	לֹא תִדְעִי שְׂחָרָה
וַתִּפֹּל עֲלֶיךָ הָהָה	לֹא תִכְבְּלִי כַפְרָה

(Is., xlvii, 11), argues that, because the "evil" in *a* is described as something that "thou knowest not how to charm away", the parallel הוֹוָה in *b* is "an evil of magical origin"—*quod non sequitur*. If anything in this verse were an evil of magical origin, it would be the "evil" in *a* which could not be charmed away; the verb which refers to הוֹוָה is כִּפֵּר, which has no magical associations. Unfortunately, too, for the theory underlying this attempted explanation, it is extremely doubtful if שְׂחָר has any magical connotation.²

Dr. Guillaume then observes that this הוֹוָה or הוֹוָה in eight out of the remaining seventeen passages in which it occurs is "connected with the organs of speech or with a verb that denotes utterance"; but this statement is hardly exact. The word is indeed so connected in three passages (Mic., vii, 3; Ps., xxxviii, 13; Prov., xvii, 4); in one this result can be obtained by emendation (Ps., xci, 3); in two it is connected by parallelism with לִשׁוֹן "tongue" (Ps., lii, 4; Jb., vi, 30), and in another with פֶּה "mouth", while

¹ In *JRAS.*, 1942, 111-131.

² See p. 8, n. 1. The root denoting witchcraft is *šhr*, which seems originally to have referred to magic circles (see Höfner and Rhodokanakis in *WZKM.*, 43, 216-17); the Acc. *šāhiru* and Hebr. סֹחֵר "magician" (Ewald; see Driver in *JTS.*, 36, 400-1), the Hebr. סֹחֲרָה "was bewitched" (see Thomas in *JTS.*, 40, 390-1), and the Arab. *سحر* "sorcery" (see Meissner, *Kg. AG.*, § 8b for *š* = *h*) prove this. May also the Targ.-Aram. סִחָר (e.g. Qoh., ix, 14) be added to these words?

actually related to קרב "inward part(s)" (Ps., v, 10), to which in another it is again related though with no reference to any organ of speech (Ps., lv, 12).

However this may be, Dr. Guillaume proceeds to the next stage in his argument, to the effect that the Acc. *awātu* or *amātu* "word", which is commonly applied in magical texts to the sorcerer's "evil word(s) of power", is philologically identical with the Hebr. חַיְוָה (hawwāh) or חֹוָה (hōwāh), and that "thus Accadian points to the meaning 'word of power' or 'binding curse' which fits all the senses of the word in Hebrew, though in some cases it has become weakened".

The philological basis of this argument is doubly unsound, on the score both of form and of meaning.

First, in regard to form. Dr. Guillaume rightly says that the Acc. *aw/mātu* is equated by Bezold¹ with the Hebr. חַיְוָה (*hiwwāh*) = Syr. ܚܝܘܐ (*hawwī*) "informed", while Muss-Arnolt² postulates a \sqrt{mh} with reference to Halévy's suggestion that its root is identical with the \sqrt{wmy} supposed to underlie the Syr. ܝܡܝ (*imī*) "swore"; of this the Acc. *awū* or *amū* "to speak, swear", whence *māmātu* "oath" is derived, is probably the source. Operating with trebly weak roots is very risky work, and not the least so in the Accadian language which unfortunately has confused several guttural and weak letters; and Dr. Guillaume apparently feels this as he does not make perfectly clear which of these identifications he prefers. If he accepts חַיְוָה (*hiwwāh*), the equation of ח (h) with 𐎶 (h) is open to objection; if he accepts ܝܡܝ (*yimī*), the equation of 𐎶 (h) with a hypothetical *w* or *y* is equally difficult.³ Apart from these points, an argument resting on alternative premises cannot be sound.

Second, in regard to meaning. It is true that the Acc. *aw/mātu* is used of the "evil word of power" in magical texts, but it is

¹ In *Bab.-Ass. Glossar*, 2-3.

² In *CDAL.*, 52-3.

³ There seem to be no instances of [initial 𐎶 being interchanged with *w* or *y* except in the hypothetical \sqrt{yly} (whence 𐎶𐎵) = 𐎶𐎵 "he went" and in a small number of onomatopoeic roots (e.g. Hebr. יבב = Arab. هبب, Hebr. חילל = and Arab. هسل = وسوس), which have no bearing on the present problem.

also the ordinary term for "word" or "speech". Consequently, when it denotes this magician's "word", the context must make the sense abundantly clear; and, in part, it is so employed without qualification, so far as I know, only in specifically magical texts. Dr. Guillaume, however, proposes to assign this magical sense everywhere to the Hebr. דְּבַר or דְּבָרָה, whether the passage in which it occurs is otherwise of magical import or not; but the root certainly cannot bear this strain.

Dr. Guillaume's thesis, then, that דְּבַר or דְּבָרָה denotes "word" with the connotation of an "evil word of power" as uttered by sorcerers and witches is, at any rate in my opinion, unacceptable, and I am driven to re-examine the origin and usage of these terms in order to see whether a satisfactory explanation of them is attainable.

In this connection attention has often been drawn to the Arab.

هَوَى (*hawā*) "blew", from whose root both the Arab. هَوَاة (*hawā'un*) "wind, air, atmosphere" and the Syr. ܠܗܘܐ (*hawē*) "wind" are derived. These words are evidently cognate with the Hebr. הֶוֶה (*hōwāh*), הַוָּה (*hawwāh*), and הַוֹּת (*hawwōt*), and it may be suggested that, following them, these too mean "wind, winds", or the like, though in fact always used of an ill wind, whether in the sense of misfortune or of slander. Will this meaning suit any or all of the passages in which one or other of these words occur?

First, I will take those passages in which there is no mention of the organs of speech and in which the usage may not be so far from the primitive sense of the root, translating them as I go:—

וְכַתְּבָה עָלֶיךָ רָעָה	לֹא תִדְעִי שְׂחָרָה
וְתִפֹּל עָלֶיךָ הָוָה	לֹא תֻכְּלִי כִפְרָה

"and there shall come upon thee an evil
that thou knowest not how to overcome,¹
and there shall fall on thee an ill wind
that thou shalt be unable to propitiate" (Is., xlvii, 11);

¹ So explained after the Syr. ܕܡܝܬܐ Pa. *domuit*, *coegit* (cf. Aram. ܫܚܪܐ, Pa. "impressed for service"), Arab. سَخَّرَ "constrained", and سَخِرَ (1) "scoffed", (2) "abashed", with which the Acc. *šahrartu* "oppression" is probably connected; cf. Is., viii, 20, where שָׁחַר may mean "compulsion, power to compel" (Driver in *JTS.*, 36, 400-1; 41, 162).

הָיָה עַל־הַיָּה תְבוּאָה וְשִׁמְעָה עַל־שִׁמְעָה תְבוּאָה

"ill wind upon ill wind shall come
and rumour shall be added to rumour"

(Ezek., vii, 26), where "ill wind" and "rumour" are nearly as nicely balanced as "evil" and "ill wind";

לֹא שָׁקוֹל יִשְׁקַל כַּעֲשִׂי וְהָיָה בַּמֶּאֱזִיזִים יִשְׂאוּ יַחַד

"would that my vexation were surely weighed
and my ill wind laid in the balance together"

(Jb., vi, 2), where "ill wind" connotes "ill luck" and is thus properly parallel with כַּעֲשִׂי "vexation";

נָתַסוּ נְתִיבֹתַי לְדִרְתִּי יַעֲלִילוּ לֹא עֹזֵר לִמִּי

"they tear down my path, they make gain of my ill wind,
with none to hinder³ them"

(Jb., xxx, 13), where again "ill wind" connotes "ill luck";

וּבִצֵּל כְּנָפֶיךָ אֶחֱסֶה עַד יַעֲבֵר הָיוֹת

"and in the shadow of Thy wings will I take refuge
till ill winds be passed"

(Ps., lvii, 2), where the verb is one commonly applied to the breath, to winds and storms⁴;

הָיָה לְאָבִיו בֶּן כְּסִיל וְדִלְגָּה טָרַד מְדִינַת אִשָּׁה

"an ill wind to his father is a foolish son,
and the contentions of a wife are driving drops (of rain)"

(Prov., xix, 13), where "ill wind" (unlike magic words) is perfectly parallel to "driving drop(s of rain)".

In none of these passages does the context or the parallelism of thought suggest or support anything in the nature of a "magical word of power"; in all of them something like the ill wind which brings ill luck, misfortune, or disaster, offers a highly suitable sense.

Second, I take those passages in which הָיָה or הָיוֹת appears in connection with speech, proposing as a meaning something of the same sort, namely words "like a strong wind",⁵ wild, windy or

¹ For אֵל (Hermann, following several ancient versions).

² So Q.

³ So Ehrlich, *Psalmen*, 312.

⁴ Gen., viii, 1; Ps., ciii, 16; Jb., xxxvii, 21 (רוּחַ); Prov., x, 25 (כֹּפֶה).

⁵ Jb., viii, 2.

blustering words spoken by way of slander or threat. These passages are the following:—

והגדול דבר היות נפשו

“and the great man speaketh the windy word(s) of his soul”
(Mic., vii, 3);

ודרשי רעתי דברו היות ומרמות כל־דיומ יהנו

“and they that seek thy hurt speak windy words
and meditate slanders¹ all the day”

(Ps., xxxviii, 13), where once again רעה and היות are parallels;

מרע מקטיב על־שפת־דאון שקר² מזון על־לשון היות

“an evil-doer payeth heed to wicked lips³
and a liar giveth ear to a tongue uttering windy words”

(Prov., xvii, 4).

If then this rendering of היות or היות is accepted, it is easy to explain these “windy words” (Jonson) as something like the *rumorum et contionum ventos* of which Cicero speaks, the blustering and ill-founded charges of the speaker's enemies.

There may now be added to these passages three in which היות is not directly related to the organs of speech as such⁴ but appears in a parallel clause, and four others which contain no reference to speech but in which the sense just proposed suits the context. The former passages are the following:—

אין בפימו⁵ נכונה קרבם היות

“there is nothing sure⁶ in their mouths;
their inward part(s) are (full of) windy words”
(Ps., v, 10);

כל־דיומ היות תחשב

לשונוך כתער מלמש עשה רמיה

¹ So Dr. Guillaume (see p. 12, n. 3).

² Driver in *ZATW.*, 52, 144.

³ Literally “a lip of naughtiness”, in which Professor Mowinkel (*Klagepsalmen*, 181) sees witchcraft—surely a clear proof that the parallel היות too means “spells”!

⁴ I put here the passage in which היות is related to הך “palate”, since that is there mentioned as an organ of taste or perception rather than of speech (Davidson, *Job*, 50).

⁵ So Lagarde with several ancient versions.

⁶ That is, their charges are unsubstantiated (see p. 12).

"all the day thou devisest windy words,
(with) thy tongue as a sharpened razor working slander" ¹

(Ps., lii, 4);

הִשְׁבִּלְשׁוֹנִי עוֹלָה אִם חֲפִי לֹא־יִכֵּן הָיוֹת

"is there injustice on my tongue,
cannot my palate discern windy words?"

(Jb., vi, 30), or, in other words, "do I say aught that is unjust?
Have I not the taste to discern and avoid speeches that are as
wind?" ²

The latter passages are the following:—

וַיִּבְטַח בְּרַב עֲשָׂרוֹ יַעֲזֵ בְהִנָּתוֹ

"and he relieth on the abundance of his wealth
and is strong in his windy word(s)"

(Ps., lii, 9);

וְאוֹן³ וְעַמֵּל בְּקִרְבָּה⁴ הָיוֹת בְּקִרְבָּה⁴

וְלֹא יִמָּשׁ מִרְחֹבָה תֵּךְ וּמִרְמָה

"and naughtiness and mischief are in her midst,
(and) windy words are in her midst,
and there shall not depart from her broad places
oppression and slander" ¹

(Ps., lv, 11-12);

לֹא־יִרְעִיב יְהוָה נֶפֶשׁ צַדִּיק וְהָיָה רִשְׁעִים יִדְחֶךָ

"Yahweh will not make the soul of the righteous to tremble,⁵
but he will repel the windy words of the wicked"

(Prov., x, 3), so that they will do no harm to the righteous at whom
they are aimed;

צִדְקַת יֹשְׁרִים תַּצִּילֵם וּבְהִנָּתוֹ⁶ בְּגִדִּים יִלְכְּדוּ

"the righteousness of the upright shall deliver him,
while the treacherous shall be caught in (their own) windy words"

¹ So Dr. Guillaume (see p. 12, n. 3).

² Jb., vi, 26 (רוח אמרי נואש, *si vera lectio*).

³ Here again אוֹן (see p. 10, n. 3)!

⁴ One קִרְב must have displaced a word of similar form and meaning.

⁵ So Dr. Guillaume, aptly comparing the Arab. رَعِبَ "trembled; composed rhymes, made spells"; he, of course, *ex hypothesi* is bound to prefer the second sense.

⁶ Or וּבְהִנָּתָם (Toy with several ancient Versions); but is the pronominal suffix necessary? The Versions may merely be filling in the sense from the context.

(Prov., xi, 6), which means that the insults and slanders with which the treacherous bluster against the upright will recoil on to their own heads.

Three points may be made in connection with these passages. First, in Ps., v, 10, the next line, in which it is said that "their throat is an open sepulchre" recalls a passage in a Babylonian tablet¹ concerning evil spirits, which says that "the evil blasts of wind have come forth from the grave" (*zaqīqu limnūti ištu qabrim ittaṣūni*); here then it is not impossible that the Psalmist may be suggesting that blustering words are stored in and are poured forth from his enemies' bellies as evil spirits come forth from the grave in the guise of gusts of wind. That, however, is the most that can be said, and it is no form of sorcery or witchcraft; this is not the belief that evil spirits can emerge from the grave but the calling of them up from it as at Endor. Second, in the same place the use of נָכוֹן "sure" is suggestive, as it is elsewhere used of certain or substantiated charges,² and the antithesis raises the suspicion that הַיּוֹת are false charges; and Ps., lv, 11-12, supports this view, if מַרְמָה does in fact mean "slander".³ Third, if הַיּוֹת is thus translated, the text in Ps., lii, 9, is correct, so that יַעַן בְּרוֹתוֹ may be left as it stands.

This discussion leaves only two passages in which הַיּוֹת or הַיּוֹה occurs unexamined.

One is a very familiar line, namely

יִצְלֵךְ מִפֶּה יָקוֹשׁ מִדֶּבֶר הַיּוֹת

(Ps., xci, 3), which is translated in the R.V.

"He shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler
(and) from the noisome pestilence".

It has, however, long been recognized that the mention of pestilence is here premature; it makes its first and quite apposite appearance in v. 6, which speaks of "the pestilence that walketh in darkness" and "the destruction that wasteth at noon-day", where the parallelism is as good as it is bad in v. 3. Dr. Guillaume therefore agrees with most modern scholars in altering הַיּוֹת

¹ Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, ii, 130-1 Y 5-6.

² Deut., xiii, 15; xvii, 4.

³ So Dr. Guillaume, who aptly compares the Syr. *ܙܡܡܐ* or *ܙܡܡܐ* and *ܙܡܡܐ* *accusavit, calumniatus est*, to which the Arab. *رمى* "charged (a person) with (a thing)" may be added.

“from the pestilence of destruction(s)” to מְדַבֵּר הָרוּת “from the word of destruction(s)”,¹ which he naturally interprets as the magician’s “evil word of power”, although the Psalm contains no other allusion to charms and spells. All the other ills in this Psalm are concrete. Can then דָּבַר be right, if הָרוּת means “(ill) winds”, here used in the literal and concrete sense of destructive winds which are so destructive to those who dwell in tents? ² If so, may it not have the same sense as the Acc. *dabru* “violent” or the like, which often occurs in such a combination, here particularly instructive, as *ūmē dabrūti* “driving, violent” or “destructive storm-winds” ³; the Acc. *dibiru* “ill-luck” and perhaps also “pestilence” ⁴ comes from the same root. The verse may then be translated

“He shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler
(and) from the driving violence of the winds”,

that is from falling into the trap set by an enemy, as a beast falls into the hunter’s snare, and from the dangers of nature, the tempest which may steal a man away in the night and the storm which may hurl him out of his place.⁵

Dr. Guillaume then sets about the solution of the last difficult passage in which הָרוּת occurs, namely

וְהַחֲבֵד כִּסֵּא הָרוּת יֵצֵר עִמָּל עֲלֵיהֶם

(Ps., xciv, 20), which the R.V. renders

“shall the throne of wickedness have fellowship with thee,
which frameth mischief by statute?”

This rendering, he rightly observes, is impossible.

¹ So Graetz with several ancient Versions.

² Cf. Jb., i, 19, where it is said that “there came a great wind from the wilderness and smote the four corners of the house, and it fell upon the young men and they are dead”.

³ Langdon, *Creation*, i, 142; ii, 29; iii, 33, 91. The fundamental sense of the \sqrt{dbr} is that of “back”, whence it is used of driving as done from behind and of that which lies in wait for a man behind his back, such as “plague” (Hebr. דָּבַר) and “death” (Arab. دَبَر), whence it comes to be applied to anything that is destructive or unlucky, such as “ruin” (Arab. دَبَار) and “defeat” or “adversity” (Arab. دَبَرَة) and any “violent deed” (Acc. *dabratu*); cf. Syr. ܕܒܪܐܢ “drove with violence, oppressed” and ܕܒܪܐܢ “agitation”.

⁴ Meissner, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch*, i, 34.

⁵ Jb., xxvii, 20-1.

Dr. Guillaume then draws attention to the fact that the Acc. *ubburu* "to bewitch" and the Hebr. חִבֵּר "tied a magic knot"¹ offer a plausible meaning also for חִבֵּר here; and, relying on his explanation of הָלַךְ as an "evil word of power", he proposes to read בָּסָה "binding" for כִּסֵּה "throne". He is thus able to translate this verse

"can he that bindeth spells charm thee,

he that deviseth mischief against the statute?"

which *ex hypothesi* is the law against sorcerers and witches.² In support of בָּסָה הָלוֹךְ "he that bindeth spells" he cites the Bab. *ša māmūt ukaszušu* "whom a curse has bound",³ having failed to observe that the Acc. *kasū* "to bind" is always and only used of binding (the limbs of) the victim by the sorcerer or (the limbs of) the sorcerer by the exorcist, never of the weaving of spells or the binding of magic knots.⁴ So, too, the Hebr. כִּסְיוֹת "bands" from the same root refers to the concrete bands sewn upon the wrists of the sorcerers, perhaps to symbolize the binding power of their words; it does not mean magic bonds or spells.⁵ Further, it may be doubted whether any Hebrew Psalmist would dare to think or speak of trying to coerce God by magic charms into becoming a partner in wrong-doing. These objections seem to make the proposed interpretation of this passage very precarious.

Can sense, however, be made of the verse? I suggest reading

חִיבֵר בָּסָה הָלוֹךְ יִצֵּר עִמִּי עֲלֵי-חַוִּי

and translating this text—

"will he that dissembleth windy words⁷ take thee into partnership,
(and) he that doeth mischief unlawfully?"⁸;

¹ Deut., xviii, 11; Ps., lviii, 6.

² Exod., xxii, 17 (18); Deut., xviii, 10-11.

³ Rawlinson, *CIWA*, v [not "tablet iv"!], 50 (= Fossey, *Magie*, 434-5), 66.

⁴ This is *riksi rakāsu* (Meier, *Maglā*, iv, 108).

⁵ Ezek., xiii, 18-20 (see Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 145-6).

⁶ An Aramaizing spelling of בָּסָה; cf. נָשָׂה (1 Sam., xxii, 2; Is., xxiv, 2) for נִשָּׂה (Exod., xxii, 24).

⁷ Cf. וּפִי רָשָׁעִים יִכְפֹּה חֲמָם "and the mouth of the wicked concealeth violence", i.e. injurious words (Prov., x, 6, 11).

⁸ Cf. Schrader in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 41, 643, who proposes מִכְסֵּה הִיבֵר "will he that dissembleth ruin be an associate of him that frameth mischief? i.e. will these two knaves enter into partnership to procure the ruin of the righteous; but the pronominal suffix with the verb is attested by all the ancient versions and is too difficult to be lightly discarded. There is no objection to the Qal of כִּסֵּה in this sense (see Prov., xii, 16, 23).

that is, will this precious pair of knaves, the one secretly preparing the "winds of blame" (Withals) against the righteous and the other seeking to procure his condemnation by unlawful means, try to make God a party to their nefarious schemes?

It may here be added that the Ugar. *hwt* (var. *hyt*, *hmt*) commonly means "word" without any evil connotation in the texts from Râs aš-Šamrah.¹

Finally, I may add that I see no difficulty in another passage which Dr. Guillaume can interpret only on the assumption that it contains an allusion to magical practices, namely,

פִּיךָ שְׁלַחַת בְּרָעָה וְלִשְׁׁנְךָ תִּצְמִיד מָרָה

"thou settest thy mouth to evil
and thou equippest thy tongue with slander"

(Ps., l, 19), as I translate it; for I suggest that the Hebr. **הַצְמִיד**, which comes from a root well known though not otherwise found in the causative theme, is used in the same sense, though figuratively, as the Acc. *šamādu* in such phrases as *kakkēšunu šandu* (for *šandu*) "they were equipped with their weapons"²—both with a second accusative case indicating that with which one is equipped.³ It is thus unnecessary to displace a perfectly good Hebrew word in place of an Arabic one in the interest of a theory.

It is then here suggested that **רוּחַ** like **הָיָה** means both "wind" and "breath" and can be used like it of windy words.⁴ It has, however, always a bad connotation; it is the ill wind that bodes only ruin and destruction, which the Syr. **ܠܗܘܬܐ** (*hautā*) *perniciēs* from the same root also connotes, and it is the blustering threats of "such as breathe out cruelty"⁵ and the unsubstantiated charges of the false witness "that breatheth out lies".⁶

It is, of course, true that the wind is at times invoked in magic practices and that Thompson⁷ can speak of "tourbillons of wind called *eructationes daemonum*"; indeed, the seventh evil spirit of

¹ Virolleaud *Anat* 31₁₀ 35₁₉ 59₅₁, *Danel* 158₁₁₈ 163₁₄₁₋₂ +.

² Rawlinson, *CIWA.*, v, 35 (= Schrader, *KB.*, III, ii, 122-3), 16.

³ Cf. **יִלְבְּשׁוּ בִשָּׁת** (Ps., xxxv, 26; Jb., viii, 22) with **אִיבִיב אֲלִבִּישׁ בִּשָּׁת** (Ps., cxxxii, 18) for the two accusative cases with the causative theme.

⁴ E.g. Jb., vi, 26; xvi, 3.

⁵ Ps., xxvii, 12 (**יִפֹּחַ חֲמָם**).

⁶ Prov., vi, 19; xiv, 5 (**יִפִּיחַ כֹּזְבִים**).

⁷ In *Semitic Magic*, 59-60.

Babylonian demonology is "the storm-wind, the evil wind".¹ That, however, does not mean that every reference to puffing against an enemy is to be explained by magical practices, any more than it is to be supposed that Cicero referred to such things with his *vento aliquo in optimum quemque excitato*; yet Cicero no less than the Psalmists and other Hebrew writers lived in a world which knew and had recourse on occasion to witchcraft and sorcery. To say this is not to deny the practice of magical arts amongst the ancient Hebrews; that is clearly impossible, since the law would not enjoin the execution of witches if there were none. I think, however, that its prevalence amongst both the Accadians and the Hebrews can be and often is greatly exaggerated. The remarkable thing is the paucity of references to witchcraft in Accadian literature outside the collections of specifically magical texts, which, too, are extraordinarily few in comparison with the vast numbers of tablets now known; and the same thing may be said of the unequivocal allusions to it also in the Old Testament, while the majority of additional passages in which witchcraft is suspected are almost, if not quite, all susceptible of alternative explanations.

¹ Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, i, 90-1₂₅ (*mehû šāru limnu*); cf. 62-3₆₆.

Notes on the Dhunnunids of Toledo

By D. M. DUNLOP

THE notice of Abū Bakr Ya'ish b. Muḥammad b. Ya'ish in Ibn Bashkuwāl, ed. Codera, p. 628, gives his death as in 418 or 419. This confirms the view that Dhunnunid rule began before 423. Abū Bakr Ya'ish must have reached power about 400: Ibn Kauthar was killed by his orders in 403 (loc. cit., p. 39) while at the funeral of a certain Qushairī (not the mystic) in 400 Ibn Ya'ish, presumably Muḥammad the father, took the prayers.

An event not elsewhere recorded apparently is given by Ibn al-Abbār, Takmilah, p. 551. In 451 an embassy of leading Toledans went to Valencia to arrange a marriage between the daughter of Yaḥyā b. dhī'n-Nūn and Muẓaffar b. abī 'Āmir. The tastes of the time are illustrated by the fact that the envoys took the opportunity of attending lectures by the well-known traditionist Ibn 'Abdu'l-Barr (Brockelmann, i, 367).

We learn the names of a number of the Qadis of Toledo under Dhunnunid rule from Ibn Bashkuwāl. Two have a special interest. The first in point of time is the celebrated Ibn Ṣā'id or the Qadi Ṣā'id. Régis Blachère in his translation of Ibn Ṣā'id's *Ṭabaqātu'l-Umam* (1935), p. 11, says roundly: La date à laquelle il devint cadi de Tolède nous est totalement inconnu. But we learn from Ibn Bashkuwāl (p. 334), that a certain Ibn al-Ḥashshā' ceased to be Qadi of Toledo in 460, having held office for ten years. Ibn Ṣā'id died as Qadi in 462 in Toledo (Bash., p. 234; aḍ-Ḍabbī, p. 311), and must therefore have held the appointment between 460 and 462. Most of his work was done presumably before he became Qadi, though the excerpt translated by Gayangos in *Muhammadian Dynasties* on the progress of the profane sciences in Andalus was written in 460. The reference to Maqqarī, ii, 125, on p. 13 of this work by M. Blachère should be ii, 123, and the text is not as he supposed حكا (at-Ta'rīf bi-aḥbar ḥukamā al-umam) but علا.

The second notable Qadi is Sa'id b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'id b. al-Ḥadīdī. He was the son of Yaḥyā b. dhī'n-Nūn's vizir, Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Sa'id b. al-Ḥadīdī. When al-Qādir b. dhī'n-Nūn succeeded (there

is no mention of any intervening reign) the father was killed by his orders (in 468, cf. *Bash.*, p. 608) and the son imprisoned in Huete, where he languished till his death in 472. Ibn Bashkuwāl says (p. 222) that he was buried in his fetters the same day, and over his grave were placed the words of the Qur'ān: If a wound hath befallen you, a wound like it hath already befallen others: We alternate the days among men (Surah 3.140). Codera has left the reading تَدَاوَلَهَا in his text with a query: it should be نَدَاوَلَهَا.

The closeness of the vizir's friendship with Yaḥyā b. dhī'n-Nūn is stressed by Ibn Bashkuwāl (p. 608). He entered Cordova after its capture with Yaḥyā and was all-powerful with him. No doubt his great influence made the grandson get rid of him. Sa'īd b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥadīdī was a prominent scholar and collector of books (d. 428) and the father of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥadīdī the vizir (*Bash.*, p. 218). Evidently it was the latter who was associated with Isma'il b. dhī'n-Nūn. The sentence on p. 87 of my article on the Dhunnunids (*JRAS.*, 1942, pt. 2) should therefore read: Very close to him stood Ibn al-Ḥadīdī, the man who had served Isma'il aẓ-Ẓāfir.

The shaikh who after the Christians captured Toledo took a historical farewell of its Great Mosque, was called al-Maghāmi. Born in 422, he was then between fifty and sixty (*Bash.*, p. 500). He retired to Seville where he died in 485. He was noted for his attainments in textual criticism of the Qur'ān and as a successful teacher (e.g. ad-Ḍabbī, p. 401, No. 1196; Ibn al-Abbār, pp. 149, No. 521, and 165, No. 584).

In addition to Yaḥyā's kiosk on an island in his palace grounds the author of the Kitābu'l-Jughrāfiyah and Maqqarī, i, 126, mention a famous water-clock at Toledo. In view of its precise location at the Gate of the Tanners and what is told of its dismantling in 528 there can be little doubt that it existed and was the work of Dhunnunid technicians. Gayangos thought he had found the actual site, but was less happy than usual in his discussion. The text of the Kitābu'l-Jughrāfiyah was given with a translation, neither altogether satisfactory, by R. Basset in *Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera*. Fagnan in *Extraits Inédits* published a somewhat different account from the Tuḥfatu'l-Mulūk of Ibn Zunbul. But though it is the best available, difficulties remain. It is tempting to suppose that the kiosk and the water-clock were the work of one master, but there are no grounds for this. On the other hand it

is nearly certain that Ibn az-Zarqālah (az-Zarqālī), known to have been a skilled constructor of astrolabes as well as an astronomer, was not the designer of the water-clock. Perhaps fresh light may come from the *Book of the Water-clock* by Rabbi Zag (Çag)—the historical Isaac b. Sid who flourished in Toledo in the thirteenth century—in the *Libros del Saber*. The great Madrid edition of this work by Manuel Rico y Sinobas is not available to settle the point.

Specimens of the poetry of the Dhunnunid period in Toledo are afforded in the biographies of M. b. 'Abdu'l-Wāhid at-Tamīmī (aḍ-Ḍabbī, p. 97) and 'Ar. b. A. b. al-Ḥawwāt (ibid., p. 347). One should mention Rāshid b. Sulaimān, a secretary of Yaḥyā b. ḍhi'n-Nūn (Ibn al-Abbār, p. 68), and perhaps also the Toledan lady Warqā' who though she died after 540 doubtless reflected the tendencies of the last period of Muslim rule (Alarcón and González Palencia in *Miscelánea de Estudios y Textos árabes*, Madrid, 1915, p. 409).

The last ten years of Dhunnunid rule have been fully discussed by Menéndez Pidal in *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, 1932 (reprinted in volume 2 of his collected works, *Historia y Epopeya*, Madrid, 1934). As well as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the distinguished editor of the *Primera Crónica General* is able to quote Ibn 'Alqamah, there translated, and particularly the *Dhakhīrah* of Ibn Bassām, which proves here as elsewhere to be very important.

The Unprinted Indigenous Arabic Literature of Northern Nigeria

By C. E. J. WHITTING

IT is uncertain when Islam began to penetrate the "western Sudan": for a review of the evidence, reference may be made to the earlier chapters of Bovill's *Caravans of the old Sahara*. That the age-old north to south and west to east trade routes (carrying outwards gold and slaves, inwards cloth and manufactured articles, internally dates and salt as the main articles of commerce), provided the vehicle can be in little doubt, as also that, by the fourth century A.H. if not earlier, appreciable Moslem influence had begun to work in the area shown on modern maps as northern Nigeria. In this area Arabic is not a tongue spoken, save in dialect by the numerically insignificant tribe of Shuwas in the north-east. But with the spread and pre-eminence at first cultural and later political of Islam, written "classical" Arabic, which provided the only means of a literary education, became the medium of diplomacy, commerce, and correspondence. This position it maintained until a few years ago, suggesting a parallel to the use of Latin in medieval Western Europe. Yet, so far as is known, although original works were produced farther north in the Sahara proper, until the "reforming" Fulani *jihad* at the end of the eighteenth century A.D. (active operations began 21.2.1804), few original compositions in Arabic emerged. The stimulus of this *jihad* appears, among other results, to have evoked the nucleus of an original indigenous Arabic literature, none of which has been printed or translated, save a few historical documents.

Perhaps a further result was the attempt towards the middle of the nineteenth century to reduce some of the local vernaculars to writing in the Arabic script—among them Hausa and Fulani. It is hard to say whether this

effort would have succeeded; perhaps not, owing to the spread of Arabic proper, and the difficulties of adapting its characters and orthography to the languages concerned. Be that as it may, both the developing indigenous Arabic literature and Ajami—as this vernacular-in-Arabic script came to be called—were cut short by the invasions of Great Britain, France, and Germany at the end of the nineteenth century. Whatever the other benefits conferred by these incursions, cultural dislocation was inevitable on conquest by so alien a race, and also a reorientation of outlook from north and east to south and west. Further, natural cultural and political units were arbitrarily divided by lines drawn on maps in the foreign offices of London, Paris, and Berlin.

The spread of European languages, into the alphabets of which all important vernaculars have now been transliterated, the press both printing and newspaper, and the transport revolution of the late thirties, which pushed this part of Africa from the horse into the machine age, have all combined to intensify these consequences. The older type of learning is not so much despised as ignored by the youth of to-day. It has no economic value. Even from the religious aspect, better and quicker results are obtained in the schools by use of the cheaply printed texts of Cairo and Beirut. Thus the old indigenous literature, most of it dating from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and practically all of it in manuscript, is doomed. Even now some MSS. are hard to obtain. It is the object of the present writer to preserve a record of this chapter in Arabic literature, albeit a short one, while there is still the possibility of doing so. Given below is a list of some of the local Arabic manuscript works, showing name of work, author, and nature of subject matter.

These ninety-nine titles do not claim to be complete, but may serve as a *point d'appui*. The list contains a few titles of works by "outside" authors (see, for example, no. 78), in local use and not known to have been printed elsewhere. The connection of the rise of this indigenous literature with the Fulani *jihād* is perhaps most clearly shown by the number of titles, twenty-two and thirty-two respectively, associated

with the names of Shaikh Uthmanu bi Foduye and his brother Shaikh Abdullahi. Of significance is the pamphlet on Mahdism by the former (no. 9), the leader of the *jihad*, who was born in 1754 and died in 1817 (see *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxv, p. 282, article by F. de F. Daniel). Both these men enjoyed reputations as notable scholars, and were regarded by the vulgar as saints. The large number of titles connected with matters legal is striking, and must have resulted from administrative need. The "classical" sources for *tafsir* and *Maliki fiqh* were, to the last "generation" of local Arabists, scarcely known. (For general background the reader may be referred to Bovill, quoted above, and Flora Shaw's *A Tropical Dependency*.)

Title of book	Author	Subject matter
1 كتاب النية	Uthmanu bi Foduye	Religious principles
2 اداب العادات	"	Titles of the prophet
3 اداب الاخرة	"	Submission
4 تهذيب الانسان	"	Mysticism
5 اخلاق المصطفى	"	The prophetic office
6 تبيان	"	Duties of Moslems
7 عمدة البيان	"	Legal (a)
8 كتاب الفرق	"	Rulers
9 تهذيب الاخوان	"	Mahdism
10 تنبيه الاخوان	"	Religious duties
11 كتاب افهام المتكربين	"	Prayers
12 اصول الدين	"	Monotheism
13 احياء السنة	"	Legal (b)
14 بيان البدع	"	" "
15 بيان وجوب الهجرة	"	" "
16 نور الابواب	"	" "
17 سراج الاخوان	"	" "

Title of book	Author	Subject matter
18 عمدة العلماء	Uthmanu bi Foduye	Legal (b)
19 عمدة العباد	"	" "
20 اداب	"	" "
21 الدالى لشيخ عثمان	"	Eulogy
22 الهمزية لشيخ عثمان	"	"
23 ضياء المنجيات	Abdu'llahi bi Foduye	Mysticism
24 ممن المنان	"	Monotheism
25 كتاب نصيحة اهل الزمان	"	Religious advice
26 كتاب نصيحة التقريب	"	Legal (a)
27 سبيل اهل الصلاح	"	Religious exhortations
28 لعال المواعظ	"	" "
29 خلاصة الاصول	"	Legal (c)
30 لباب المدخل	"	Uses of scholarship
31 كفاية الطلاب	"	Legal (a and b)
32 تلخيص الحمديّة	"	Mysticism
33 سبيل النجاة	"	Religious exhortations
34 ضياء التاويل	"	Exegesis
35 كفاية الضعفاء السودان	"	"
36 مفتاح التفسير	"	Koranic reading
37 سلاة المفتاح	"	" "
38 فرائد الجليّة	"	" "
39 ضياء الحكام	"	Legal (b)
40 ضياء السياسة	"	" "
41 ضياء الامة	"	" "
42 ضياء اولى الامر والجاهدين	"	" "
43 ضياء الامام	"	" "
44 بحر المحيط	"	Grammar

Title of book	Author	Subject matter
45 الحصن الحصين	Abdu'llahi bi Foduye	Grammar
46 تقريب ضرورى الدين	"	Legal (b)
47 الفية الاصول	"	" (c)
48 ثلاثة الالفية	"	" "
49 فوائد الثؤلث المصون	"	Pillars of the faith
50 تزيين الورقات	"	Introduction to Arabic
51 الدالى	"	Eulogy
52 مدية الزاد الى المهدي	"	The prophet and Mahdism
53 كفاية الطالب	"	Legal (b)
54 ضوء المصلى	"	" "
55 كشف الغطاء	Bello ibn Uthmanu	Religious exhortations
56 نور الفجر	"	Pilgrimage
57 انفاق الميسور فى تاريخ الدالى التكرور	" (e)	History
58 جلاء الصدور	"	"
59 كوكب الشاطيء	Jallal uddini	Legal (c)
60 الفريدة	"	Grammar
61 صلالة الملكين	"	Ethics
62 تنبيه المفتين	Abdu'l Wahab Shahrani	Mysticism
63 منح المنة	"	Tradition
64 شرب الجلال	Shaikh Dahiru	Ethics
65 قوانين	Ibn Farhuna	Legal (a)
66 مفتاح المغلق	Wali Umaru	Logic
67 سلم المرونق	"Ahdariyyi"	"
68 طنطنة	Modibbo Hassan	Legal (a)
69 هداية الصبيان	"	" "
70 حجة المسؤل	Abu Bakr	Monotheism

Title of book	Author	Subject matter
71 حدوث العالم	Shaikh Wali	Monotheism
72 تجاثر احمد ابن عبد الله	"	"
73 فوائد اصطفاء	Abdu'l Mudi	"
74 نقيعة الطلاب	Muh : ibn Salihi	"
75 اضاءة الدينة	Ahmadu Makkari	"
76 الاوحي	Salihu ibn Sulaimi	"
77 قزروري	Shaikh Sa'idu	Biography of the prophet
78 مصباح الارواح	Shaikh Muh : Maghili (d)	Duties of princes
79 تحفة الممدود	Ibn Maliki Da'yyi	Grammar
80 كافي	"	"
81 لا تركن	Abu Bakr ibn Muhammadu	"
82 ابن الوردى او التحفة الوردية	Umaru	"
83 زقاقى	Ali ibn Kasimi	Legal (a, b, and c)
84 صفة النعيم دع الغفلة	Shaikh Muhtaru	Religious exhortations
85 مقدمة	Imridiyyi	Grammar
86 قلائد الايات	Abdu's Salami	Eulogy of the prophet
87 تحفة قدسية	Ibn Badisa	Eulogy
88 تَقَرُّش	Ibrahim ibn Masuda	Grammar
89 تحذير السعداء	Modibbo Raji	Mysticism
90 تمرين الصبيان	" Nakashiri	"
91 بدا ماش	Shaikh Abi Abdu'llahi	Eulogy of the prophet
92 لامية العرب	Harisu ibn Haris	Introduction to Arabic
93 لامية العجم	" Dagara'yyi "	" "
94 جامع الاله مسائل الاحكام	Idirisu Gwandu	Legal (b)

Title of book	Author	Subject matter
95 نظم الكبرى	Dahiru Barnawi	Monotheism
96 منحل	Muh : Wali Bagirmi	"
97 شرح المنح في الفريدة	Ahmadu Baba (f)	Grammar
98 الفية السير	Abdu'r Rahmani ibn Husaini	Biography of the prophet
99 الفية العراق	" "	Tradition

NOTES

(a) فقه

(b) فروع

(c) اصول

(d) This author's similar *Taj ul din* was edited and translated by T. H. Baldwin for Katsina Native Administration, in 1932. This book may represent a different "edition", or variant MSS. "tradition" but is probably not a separate "composition".

(e) An English translation, under title *Rise of the Sokoto Fulani*, was made by E. J. Arnett from an incomplete Hausa version of the original Arabic, and printed in 1922.

(f) The famous sixteenth century scholar of Timbuktu, a principal source of es-Sadi, see *Gibb's Arabic literature*, p. 115.

Nature in Malay Literature and Folk Verse

By R. O. WINSTEDT

THE earliest Malay literature extant belongs to a time five hundred years ago, when in spite of having embraced Islam the Malay still cared enough for the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* to translate them into a vernacular already full of Arabic loan-words. In addition he borrowed from India folk romances tricked out with *motifs* and descriptive passages from the two great Hindu epics. For example, in one such romance, the *Hikayat Parang Puting*, when the fairy lover "burning as if he would set fairy-land on fire" is rejected by his mistress, he tosses sleepless until "the cocks crow, the birds of paradise sing in the sky, the parrots chatter in the *angsoka* trees, parroquets on the boughs of the *nagasari* and mynahs on the *chempaka* trees, and a drizzle of rain makes all the flowers bloom". The Indian genius, like our own, will readily sentimentalize landscape to accord with human moods. But turn to the Malay version of a scene in the garden at Hastinapura that "astonished the moon by its beauty":—"about midnight was seen a portent of the city's imminent doom. It was utterly still and the moon looked like a lovely woman peeping from behind a door. Gentle rain fell and a light breeze stirred in the distance. There were banks of clouds of all shapes and the birds were restless, flying here and there *like a man with two wives*." ¹ So far as I know that last simile is a gloss by the observant, cynical Malay. In modern jargon, the Indian is an introvert, the Malay an extravert.

For a picture of day-break the Indian epic selects sacred trees and bright-plumaged songsters, but Malay village realism includes indiscriminately grass-hoppers, buffaloes, night-jars and burnt-out logs:—

Long had passed the hour of midnight ;
Not yet visible the daylight ;
Twice ere now had waking infants
Risen and sunk again in slumber ;
Truant youths were wending homeward ;
Wrapped in sleep were all the elders.
Far away were pheasants calling ;
In forest depths the shrill cicada

¹ *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya* : Raffles' Malay MS. 2, Library R.A.S., London.

Chirped, as heavy dew descended ;
 Lowed the cattle in the meadows,
 Buffaloes from byres responded ;
 Peacocks spread their tails at cock-crow ;
 Up-rolled the curtain of the morning.
 Mag-pie robins 'gan to chirrup ;
 Now aloft were night-jars soaring ;
 Pigeons cooed upon the threshold,
 Fitful came the quail's low murmur ;
 Foot-long brands had burned to inches.
 These the signs of day approaching.¹

That comes from one of the Malay rhapsodist tales, some of which exhibit traces of borrowing from the Tamil Buddhist story of Manimekalai. And here from another such tale is a picture of a storm at sea :—

Wind searching as a sieve of brass,
 Laying all things flat before it,
 Driving clouds in pointed wisps,
 Like the trump on the day of judgment ;
 Wind that's palpable in form,
 Tearing up the shrub in court-yard,
 From muddy soil the plant up-rooting,
 Tumbling buffalo in meadow,
 Toppling coconut in garden ;
 Wind that strips the coral reef-banks,
 Till they show like slabs of metal ;
 Tossing mullet on the deck-house,
 Bringing shark to door of cabin.²

Or take the curiously appropriate similes from nature applied in the same tale to a timid girl firing a gun :—

Soon as loaded, took her musket,
 Stepped as when begins a fencer,
 Paying devoir to beholders.
 Then she changed to steps of challenge ;
 High as hawk apoise in heaven,
 Low anon as cowering pheasant
 Or as gull that dippeth cliffward ;
 Quick as monkey in the branches ;
 Whirling next as whirls a fencer
 Come from Siam, or as kitten
 Frisking amid fallen foliage.
 She dropped the barrel, pulled the trigger,
 Pressed the musket to her sleeve.³

¹ *Hikayat Seri Rama*, ed. W. E. Maxwell, *JRAS.*, *Straits Branch*, No. 16.

² *Hikayat Awang Sulong Merah Muda*, ed. A. J. Sturrock and R. O. Winstedt, Malay Literature Series, V, 2nd ed., Singapore 1914.

³ *Ib.*

Whether or not foreign influence is present, here is a mass of vivid detail, exactly in accord with Malay taste.

Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* (xiv, ll. 338-340) writes of the singing of Canens :—

Et mulcere feras et flumina longa morari
Ore suo volucresque vagas retinere solebat.

In *Malim Deman* the Malay rhapsodist sings of

*Voices lifted high in singing,
Till the ape fell from the branches,
The flowing water stopped to listen,
The flying bird turned back to hear.*

Identical hyperbole ! Whatever the source, the “ape falling from the branches” would seem to be genuinely Malay.

The naïve Malay appreciation of nature is seen best in verse where alien influence is least. The long classical poems of the fifteenth century were compiled under Indo-Javanese influence, and vocabulary alone betrays the foreign inspiration of the beautifully vowelled line : asal kesoma titian dēwata,¹ “sprung from a bloom that was a bridge for fairies.” But the real Malay outlook may be found in an eighteenth century Perak court poet’s vignettes of coastal bays visited on a royal picnic :—

Antara laut Pantai Remis,
Pasir-nya bagai santan di-ramas ;
Gelombang dan bakat habis-lah kemas,
Sa-buah pun tidak mara dan chemas.

Tempat-nya indah terlalu elok,
Sungai-nya banyak di-dalam telok ;
Gunong berator, batu berkalok,
Anēka rupa sampan dan balok.²

“The sands at Cockle-shell Strand were white as milk squeezed from a coconut. Breakers and flotsam were all tidily packed up in the narrows and no boat ran risk of harm.

“The place was remarkably beautiful. Streams there were many in the bay. There were mountain-ranges and encircling rocks. And there was every kind of boat and dug-out.”

Sands as white as coconut milk are not perhaps intrinsically more laughable or less poetical than a brow “like a snow-drift” or a neck “like the swan”. And if the trailing clouds of Turner’s

¹ *Ken Tamboehan* (Drei Maleische Gedichten), H. C. Klinkert, Leiden, 1886.

² *Misa Melayu*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, M.L. Series, XV, Singapore, 1914, p. 134.

Fighting Temeraire momentarily befog the æsthetic vision and make us smile at a dug-out, let us recall the small boats of the *Odyssey* and that wonderful fishing-boat, so much like the Malay *payang*, painted by van Gogh.

More difficult for poetry to accept than the dug-out of the courtier is the flora of the village improviser of *pantun*, those quatrains that are perhaps the earliest and certainly the most typical form of Malay poetry. "I thought the *Morinda tinctoria* was a *Garcinia nigrolineata*"¹ is a cryptic rather than a poetical way of saying that one was mistaken about one's mistress. Yet it is easy to exaggerate the difficulty of comprehending a foreign vision and foreign expression. Malinowski² translated a Trobriand song:—

We run front-wood ourselves
We paddle in place
We turn, we see companion ours,
He runs rear-wood behind their sea-arm Pilolu

This, he declared, was intelligible only if one had learnt to paddle a Trobriand canoe—which means in plain language until in the absence of dictionaries one had acquired a technical vocabulary. Apply his method of approach to Horace:—

Who many a graceful thee boy among rose
Drenched in liquid courts in scents
Pleasing, o auburn-haired, in grotto.

Statesman and schoolboy have enjoyed that famous ode without being drenched in Roman perfumes.

Yet a century ago Marsden could take the Malay *pantun*

Kerengga di-dalam buloh,
Serahi berisi ayer mawar:
Sampai hasrat di-dalam tuboh,
Tuan sa-orang jadi penawar,

and translate it—

Large ants in the bamboo cane,
A flasket filled with rose-water;
When the passion of love seizes my frame,
From you alone can I expect the cure.

And the fact that so competent a Malay scholar could in good faith furnish such a meaningless translation shows the extreme difficulty of interpreting the Malay singer's elusive references to

¹ *Pantun Melayu*, R. J. Wilkinson and R. O. Winstedt, M.L. Series, XII, 2nd ed., Singapore, 1923, p. 18.

² *The Meaning of Meaning*, C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, supplementary essay by B. Malinowski, London, 1936.

natural objects. Nor indeed have all Malays grasped that the surrealist imagery of this particular *pantun* is not so hard to understand :—

Red ants in a bamboo ! the passion
That tortures my frame is like you.
But like flask of rose-water in fashion
Is the cure my dear flame can bestow.

The Malay race descended from Yunnan, so that it may not be mere coincidence that the elliptical art of Malay village quatrains is nearer to Chinese poetry than to any other. "In Chinese odes," Mr. Cranmer-Byng¹ has told us, "before coming to the real object of the poem, in one or two lines a peculiar phenomenon, a well-known event or occurrence is mentioned as an introduction ; not unlike a clever arabesque, in order to prepare reflection, sensation, and the state of mind for what follows." And he translates an example, where allusions to blue-bottle flies in the first couplets put the hearer into a mood to appreciate the description in the second couplets of the way slander buzzes round a court and poisons palace life. That is the way the Chinese poet employs his eye for nature and it is also the way of the Malay poet : "Dark is the cluster of sweet mangosteen fruit, while the creamy petals of a flower decay and fall. She may be dark but she is sweet to look at, and of what use is a creamy complexion that does not wear ?"² Or again : "Big fish eat little fish. There are fish now in the trap. Eating is keeping and secrets are not things to be let loose."³ And one has to reflect that love often vanishes like smoke to appreciate

A cigarette my girl is smoking ;
Flower-like its rings yet linger.
Ah ! mignonette, forgive my joking :
Whose ring is now upon your finger ?⁴

There are many *pantun* sequences⁵ where the natural imagery of the initial couplets is a covert commentary on the theme in the second couplets.

This convention for the *pantun* gives the observer of nature a wide scope, and the number of natural objects cited is abundant. Swifts on the wing, the quail's cry, a scorpion on a sugar-cane, morning mist, dew on grass, a banyan-tree beside a rice-plot, tall

¹ *A Lute of Jade*, L. Cranmer-Byng, London.

² *Pantun Melayu*, 141, p. 47. ³ *Ib.*, 48, p. 35. ⁴ *Ib.*, 41, p. 34.

⁵ *Ib.*, 199-210, pp. 55-6 ; 306-313, pp. 68-9, 209-210.

bamboo-clumps, a pheasant's nest in a cleft above a water-fall, the splash of paddles, the sight of white paddles moving like the wings of white birds, convolvulus wreathing the stalks in a neglected rice-field, butterflies on rocks by the sea, a monkey descending a tree to bathe in a moon-lit swamp, the blindworm whose tail looks like his head, the arched back of a leech, the praying mantis, tumbling dolphins, the jungle-fowl flying to the forest, the sailing-boat luffing past a sunken rock, the flood-bringing rains from the mountains. Though the great variety is due partly to the compulsion of assonance and rhyme, the choice of objects shows the Malay is not blind to nature and recalls the art of China more than any other art in the world.

To illustrate the compulsion of assonance as well as rhyme, one translation must suffice :—

Whence from the fallows wings the dove ?
 Eyes lead his flight beside the stalk.
 Ah ! Thence it springs, does callow love,
 Aye feeds by sight, for eye can talk.¹

The effort to compete with the assonance contrived by the ingenious artifice of a rival singer will lead to far-fetched imagery and produce quatrains reminiscent of the Limerick or Clerihew or even of Lewis Carroll's surrealist verse. Nor is this strange as the *pantun* was probably evolved from jingling riddles.² And elsewhere I have suggested that the abundant references to mountains and islands in the first couplets of these village quatrains may have been due to a stock formula used to the propounder of a riddle by one who has failed to solve it, namely, "I will give you such and such a place or mountain if you will enlighten me."³

So far from being Limericks, the best *pantun* are "simple, sensuous, and passionate". While the Malay is more prone to laughter and irony than to a sense of the *lacrimae rerum*, there are times when he feels nature to be in harmony with a sombre mood, and expresses that feeling in verse, just as it is expressed, for example, in a poem of the T'ang period⁴ :—

The wax candles seem to understand and sorrow at our parting ;
 They deputize for us and weep till early dawn.

A Malay would appreciate that moralizing on an object that happens to be before the love-sick poet's eyes.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 29. ² *Ib.*, pp. 8-11. ³ *Ib.*, p. 10.

⁴ *Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty*, Soame Jenyns, p. 50, London, 1940.

It is hard to translate verse so packed with meaning in a few words as the *pantun*, but even translation can show that there is poetry in these village songs as well as a keen eye for nature. I will start with two examples that allude in rhyme to what Hazlitt has embodied in sensitive prose:—"I never see a child's kite in the air, but it seems to pull at my heart. It is to me 'a thing of life'. I feel the twinge at my elbow, the flutter and palpitation, with which I used to let go the string of my own, as it rose in the air and towered among the clouds. My little cargo of hopes and fears ascended with it."

White as paper a-sail in the air
Are the kites of the boys on the quay;
And I feel, when in love with my fair,
Like a ship that is breasting the sea.¹

Or

Hard the divorce of love and lingering,
Like a kite that waits the wind.²

Or take

Your love, I think, is like a river-weed
Not rooted fast but ever drifting.³

Or

Big breakers roll over the sea,
Far sprayed by this wind from the west.
A riddle come answer for me:
What, I pray, is this love in the breast?

My homestead 's with lightning aflame;
Over yours there is thunder a-roll.
Seven heavens in one mortal frame,
That's the meaning of love in the soul.⁴

Incidents from common life, generally humble and rustic, language really used by men, imaginative colouring whereby ordinary things are presented in an unusual aspect, the expression of ideas associated in a state of excitement, the incorporation of the passions of men with beautiful and permanent forms of nature—these, thought Wordsworth, went together to make up good poetry. Certainly they are found in the best Malay *pantun*.

¹ *Pantun Melayu*, 342, p. 73. ² *Ib.*, p. 23. ³ *Ib.* ⁴ *Ib.*, 186-7, p. 53.

“The Mysterious Paisāci”

By ALFRED MASTER

KONOW'S “The Home of Paisāci” (24 pages) was printed in *ZDMG.*, 1910, and Grierson's reply (38 pages) in *ZDMG.*, 1912. Konow concluded that “the Paisāci described by Prakrit grammarians was based upon a dialect spoken in and about the Vindhya, and perhaps further to the south and east” (p. 118). Grierson believed that “the home in India of the Pisācas was in the North-West of India, where these (the ‘modern Pisāca’) languages are spoken, and that — the nidus of Paisāci Prakrit was also in the North-West” (p. 85). The theories of previous scholars as stated by Konow and Grierson were that Pai. was a hill dialect (Lassen), a low Prakrit spoken by Dravidians identifiable with Apabhramśa (Hoernle), a Prakrit of the North-West (Pischel), and (the Pai. of Guṇāḍhya, author of the *Bṛhatkathā* only) based upon an Aryan language of the north-west or west, but spoken by non-Aryan peoples (Lacôte).

The discussion was reopened by Konow with a new argument in *JRAS.*, 1921 (pp. 244 f.), to which Grierson replied (pp. 424 f.), but neither argument nor reply threw much fresh light on the subject. In the meantime A. C. Woolner (*Intro. to Pkt.*, p. 68) had observed that the term Paisāci was used in several senses and that one of these was that of an uncivilized language. H. Jacobi (Bhav. § 82) confined himself to saying that the *Bṛhatkathā*, the only work regarded by tradition to have been written in Pai., set the example for a style, imitated in other dialects. Grierson also thought that Pai. was used in parts of India other than the north-west and states (*JRAS.*, 1921, p. 426) that the only issue between Konow and himself was the site of the home of Pai.

The latest view is that of A. B. Keith in *The History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, p. 28. He says, “To the group of old Prākṛits belongs also the mysterious Paisāci, in which the famous *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya was written; its home is still uncertain.” He considers Grierson's attribution open to objection on many grounds and that there is much to be said for Konow's theory. Konow's arguments are indeed sounder than Grierson's. Unfortunately, the problem has never been accurately stated and, in its present

form, bristles with *petitiones principii*. Pai. is not necessarily a Prakrit; the Brh. may not have been written in Pai. and Pai. need not have had a home. How is it that these points have been missed by so many eminent scholars? Apparently for want of other material, much reliance was placed upon Namisādhū and the later grammarians, Hemacandra and his successors who based their statements about Pai. either on second-hand evidence or their own theories, influenced by the popular meaning of the word Paisācī. Further, the authenticity of the last three chapters of Vararuci's Prākṛta-prakāśa (5th to 7th cent.) had not then been questioned and no one doubted the existence of the term Paisācī in his time. Pai. is distinguished from Pkt. and Apa. by several grammarians of the tenth century and need not therefore be a prakrit in the sense that Śauraseni is a prakrit (i.e. a regional adaptation of Mahārāṣṭrī). The Brh. was written in Bhūtabhāṣā according to the earliest authorities and it was only later that Bhūtabhāṣā was identified with Pai. Rājasekhara (c. 900 A.D.) appears to suggest that it had a home, but in the same breath he connects the Gauḍa country with Skt., the Lāṭa country with Pkt. and Marwār and the Ṭakka country¹ (Panjab) with Apa. Clearly he is speaking only of the literary language favoured by various peoples without implying that it was closely connected with their vernacular.

As to the Brhatkathā. This work was written in a language not Skt., Pkt., Apa., or a bhāṣā (vernacular of the writer). This language was known later as Paisācī. The first mention of the Brh. is in the copperplate grants of Durvinīta. Keith (op. cit., p. 268, n. 2) writes: "The alleged version into Sanskrit by Durvinīta (? 6th century) is quite dubious (R. Narasimhachar, JRAS., 1913, pp. 389 ff.); see Fleet, JRAS., 1911, pp. 186-8." Durvinīta was, however, a Western Ganga king, whose date can be traced backwards from Śrīpuruṣa to c. 580 A.D., his approximate date of accession. Fleet, at first, condemned all the Ganga records as forgeries, and refused to recognize a Ganga dynasty. But later he allowed that one or two might be genuine. The beautiful execution, the careful Sanskrit, and the palæographical details of the Uttanūr plates all confirm Narasimhachar's judgment that they are genuine. These plates (MAR., 1912, p. 65, and 1916, p. 36) contain the words "devabhāratī-nibaddha-Vaḍḍakathena Kirātārjunīye

¹ Bhādānaka, the third country mentioned by Rāj., has not been identified.

pancadaśa-¹ sargga-ṭikā-kāreṇa Durvvinīta-nāmadheyena". *EC.*, xii, Tumkur 23, has "devabhārati-nibaddha-Bṛhatkathah".² It is doubtful whether these words mean, as Narasimhachar suggests, "made a translation of the Bṛh. in Skt." It seems rather to mean "he, who composed the Bṛh. in the language of the gods". There is no exact parallel to the use of devabhārati as meaning Skt. and we assume that Durvvinīta wrote his two other works (of which Śabdāvatāra was the third) in Skt. Daṇḍin, indeed, says that mahārṣis call Skt. daivī vāc (i, 37); Bhojadeva says that gods., etc., speak Skt. (ii, 9); Namisādhu says, however, "ārisavayaṇe siddham devāṇaṃ Addhamāgahā vāṇi" (in the Ārṣa text it is established that Ardhamāgadhī is the speech of the gods), comm. on Rudraṭa, Kavya. ii, 12. Still, even if the meaning of the phrase is uncertain, it seems, at least, to indicate that Durvvinīta was acquainted with the Bṛh.

The next references to the Bṛh. occur in the works of Subandhu Bāṇa and Daṇḍin, all of whom flourished in the seventh century. Bhāravi, whose date Keith (*HSL.*, p. 108) gives as c. A.D. 550, makes no mention of the Bṛh. According to the Avantisundarikathā, which Keith rejects, Bhāravi was a friend of Durvvinīta, when they were exiles at the court of the Pallava Simhaviṣṇu (c. A.D. 575, cf. A. Master, *JRAS.*, 1939, p. 79). This would explain Durvvinīta's interest in the Kirātārjuniya. It is possible also to relate Bhāravi's pride in his grammatical skill (cf. Keith, *HSL.*, p. 114) with Durvvinīta's interest in philology, as shown by his composition of the Śabdāvatāra, and his choice of the artificial Canto XV of the Kirātārjuniya for comment. Bhāravi's devotion to Śiva (he is called mahāśaiva in the Avantisundarikathā) shown in the Kirātārjuniya and the conceits of Canto XV (which are paralleled in later Tamil tradition)³ are consistent with a Dravidian connection. His interest in words and the example of Bhāravi in making his hero the wild mountaineer Kirāta may have suggested to Durvvinīta the compilation of popular tales in a mountain setting.⁴

¹ I have not used ñ, ñi before the k and c vargas, so nk and nc = ñk, ñc, etc.

² For the equivalence vaddo = bṛhat, cf. Vṛhadgachasya in Nemicandra's Uttarādhana-ṭikā IOC ii 7488 śloka 9 and Vaddagacchammi in his Mahāvīracarita Pattan Cat. 285 śloka 2 (A.D. 1060). Also Amg vadda-kumāri "adult unmarried girl".

³ Cf. J. Vinson, *Langue tamoule*, p. 228, quoting C. J. Beschi's much admired quatrain of four almost identical lines each with a different meaning.

⁴ An excellent account of the various versions of the Bṛh., based upon, among other sources, the *Essai sur Guṇādhyā et la Bṛhatkathā* (Lacôte, 1908), is given in Keith, *HSL.*, pp. 266 ff.

Subandhu mentions the Brh. twice and Guṇāḍhya once (F. Hall, *Vāśavadattā* *BI.*, 1859, pp. 110, 147), and Guṇāḍhya is not again mentioned until A.D. 875 in a Cambodian inscription. The Brh. is not mentioned in the ninth century. Dhanamjaya in the Daśarūpa (exact date unknown), Trivikrama A.D. 915 and Somadeva Sūri A.D. 959 mention it in the tenth century. Dhanapāla, c. A.D. 972, says that the Skt. kathās are derived from the Brh. (Tilakamanjari, cf. Lacôte, *EGB.*, p. 10). In the eleventh century appears the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva (c. 1070), and the Brhatkathāmanjari of Kṣemendra (c. 1045). The fragmentary Brhatkathāśloka-saṃgraha of Budhasvāmin may be contemporary or somewhat earlier. They are all written in Skt. and have wandered far from the original source. The position regarding the Brh. is (to quote Keith) that we cannot say anything definite of the date of Guṇāḍhya, the question of the form of the work is obscure and it is impossible to determine with precision the content of the Brh.

I shall now examine the assertion (*HSL.*, p. 269) that the dialect used was Paisācī.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE BRHATKATHĀ

If the term Paisācī meant no more than the language spoken or written by certain Piśācas at a certain time, there could be no objection to its use. This appears to be Lacôte's original view, although he tries to fit in Grierson's north-west theory. But the word describing the language of the Vindhyan Piśācas is, according to the earliest authorities, Bhūtabhāṣā. The Brh. was, according to the story of the recensions, told by Śiva to Pārvatī. This story may explain the use by Durvinita of the word devabhāratī "the speech of the gods". The kathā was finally written by Guṇāḍhya in the language of the Vindhya Piśācas.

anyonyālāpam eteṣāṃ durād ākarnya

śikṣitā mayā Piśācabhāṣā.

Kathāsaritsāgara śl. 27

"By listening from afar to their talk with one another, I learnt the language of the Piśācas."

He therefore saluted Kāṇabhūti in their language, which he calls the fourth, the Bhūtabhāṣā.

drṣtvā tvāṃ svāgatam kṛtvā caturthyā bhūtabhāṣyā.

Bhūtabhāṣā is called the fourth language, because Guṇāḍhya had taken a vow not to use Skt., Pkt., or deśabhāṣā.

tato mayā

Samskṛtaṃ Prākṛtaṃ tadvad deśabhāṣā ca sarvadā
bhāṣātrayaṃ idaṃ tyaktaṃ, yaṃ manuṣyeṣu sambhavet

"Thereupon I renounced for ever Sanskrit, Prakrit, and likewise deśabhāṣā, this triad of speech, such as it occurs among men," id., śl. 147-8.

This śloka contradicts the widely accepted classification of Bhūtabhāṣā as a prakrit. Prākṛta cannot mean merely Mahārāṣṭri because the differences between that variety and Śaurasenī, Magadhī, etc., were not so important as to enable Guṇāḍhya to claim one of the latter as a separate language. Bhūtabhāṣā is not even a deśabhāṣā which was still further removed from Sanskrit than the prakrits (or Prakrit in the sense of Mahārāṣṭri and its dialects). The triple classification of languages into Skt., Pkt., and deśabhāṣā with a fourth bhāṣā outside of and different from them is consonant with the classification of the Nāṭyaśāstra (c. 4th cent.) into Samskṛta, Prākṛta, and deśabhāṣā with the corresponding triple (trividhaṃ) division of words into samāna-śabda, vibhraṣṭa, and deśī (xvii, 14). Deśabhāṣās are apparently local dialects (such as Śaurasenī, Māgadhi, etc.) used in drama, perhaps in correspondence and business notes, but not in literature.¹ The work also recognizes vibhāṣās, which are the languages now classed as Dravidian and Muṇḍā. Dharasena's inscription (c. A.D. 560) speaks of Samskṛta, Prākṛta, Apabhraṃśa bhāṣā-traya, the triad of speeches. Here Apa. appears to mean a standardized literary language suitable for use with a few modifications by speakers of the main deśabhāṣās, but no mention is made of deśabhāṣās or of vibhāṣās.² It appears that at this period writers were more conscious of the difference between Indo-Aryan and non-I.A. languages than later, for Śabara (c. fifth century A.D.) gives in his Bhāṣya examples of four mleccha words (two Iranian and two Dravidian) and Kumārila (seventh century) adduces five words of Draviḍa, which he calls one of the mleccha languages (Tantravārtika, see Iyengar, *IA.*, xlii, p. 200).³ Kumārila protests against the attempt of certain writers to

¹ In a few points of detail this account may differ from that of H. Jacobi in his *Essay on Apabhraṃśa, Bhavisatta-kakā*, pp. 55 ff.

² Apabhraṃśa may mean a corruption of Skt., not of Pkt., as in Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, and thus refer to early Middle Indian.

³ They are well known and all identifiable except one, which appears to be a dialectal form (māl, "female" = śl, "person, boy, girl, servant"; *Koṣava āml*, *LSI.*, iv, 321). As for mleccha, many derivations have been suggested, but I have not yet seen suggested "malepsu, "devotee of darkness, obscurity," of malinamukha "goblin."

manipulate these words and so distort their meaning as to make them appear to be Skt. words. The movement, then, to regard Skt. as the mother of all Indian languages, had begun, but had not yet gained universal acceptance. Bhūtabhāṣā was still outside the Sanskritic triad ranked, no doubt, as mleccha. The word Bhūtabhāṣā is met again in the comments of Narasiṃha Vaidya and Jayaddhara on Subandhu's Vāṣavadattā. The former calls Guṇādhya “the author of a kind of composition known as Bhūtabhāṣā” (bhūtabhāṣākhyo granthabhedāḥ Guṇādhya-tatkartā), “the exponent of Bhūtabhāṣā” (pranetr), and the latter speaks of him as “the mighty poet of Bhūtabhāṣā” (bhūtabhāṣā-kavi-vṛṣo). Bhāmaha (last half of seventh century A.D.) speaks like Dharaṣena of the Triad (saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ cānyad apabhraṃśa iti tridhā, quoted by Jac. *Bhav.*, p. 54), and has no occasion to speak of Bhūtabhāṣā. Daṇḍin, who may be regarded as a contemporary, makes the Triad¹ into a Tetrad by including Mīśra to provide for the non-homogeneous character of the Drama. The classification is faulty, as no new language is intended. He retains the Nāṭyaśāstra's triple classification of words, but for Prakrit, introducing the terms tatsama, tadbhava, and deśī. He is the first to call the language of the Brh. Bhūtabhāṣā. This name may have been suggested by Bāṇa's description of the Vṛhatkathā [*sic*] as a marvel (Cowell and Thomas, *Harṣacaritra*, p. 3), for Daṇḍin repeats this idea in the phrase adbhutārtham Brhatkathām, making a play on the words bhūta and adbhuta.

There is then a gap of nearly a hundred years till Ujjoṇa's Kuvalayamālā, which describes without reference to the Brh., the Triad, Peśāyā or Peśāya-bhāsa, and the eighteen deśabhāṣās (GOS., xxxvii, Intro., *passim*). This work (A.D. 777) marks a fresh stage, in which Bhūtabhāṣā is identified with a specific language Paisācā and is not merely Piśācabhāṣā. This stage will be described later. But the language in which the Brh. was originally written, whether it was known at the time as Bhūtabhāṣā or what Bhūtabhāṣā means, is still a problem. Bhūtabhāṣā may even mean “obsolete language”, a language forgotten or “the language of Śiva”, who is bhūteśvara, bhūtacārin, bhūtanātha, etc.² The

¹ Daṇḍin's *Apabhraṃśa* is not a successor of Skt., “as in the Śāstras” (Kavya. i, 36), but of Pkt., cf. the later writers (PG 2). There is no place, therefore, in the Triad for early Middle Indian.

² R. G. Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philo. Lectures*, 1877, p. 79, calls Pai “the language of the ghosts”.

earliest title of this work *Vaḍḍakathā*, however, seems to indicate that it was written in one of the eighteen *Deśabhāṣas*, which included non-Aryan languages spoken in India. For *vaḍḍa* is not Skt. or Pkt.¹ and *kathā* not Pkt. or Apa.

THE PISĀCAS

The word *Pesāyā* or *Paisācā*, etc., means "the language of *Pisācas*". Grierson held that the *Pisācas* were a tribe, which lived at the time of the *Mahābhārata* in N.W. India and spoke a language, from which the modern Dardic and Kafir groups are descended. The language spread to many other parts of India including the *Vindhyas*. Apart from Grierson no scholar has ever believed that *Pisāca* was more than a vague name for wild tribes, especially as there now exist neither *Pisācas* nor a *Pisāca* language. Keith (*HSL.*, p. 259) sets out Konow's suggestion that the *Paisācī* of the *Vindhyas* was a Prakrit influenced by Dravidian. This view is based upon the fragments of the language cited by the later grammarians as *Paisācī*. The *Pisācas* of the *Vindhyas* must, then, at one time have been speakers of Dravidian. But probably the inhabitants of the *Vindhyas* were not of Dravidian race. The *Vindhyas* are now inhabited by *Bhils* and similar races, who are regarded by anthropologists as aboriginal and probably of the same race as the *Muṇḍā* tribes. Who inhabited the *Vindhyas* in the fifth or sixth century A.D., when the *Bṛh.* may have been written? The nearest contemporary evidence appears to be that of Subandhu, who depicts the *Vindhya* range as occupied by *Pulindas*, *Kirātas*, and *Śabarās* (Hall, op. cit., p. 32). *Bāṇa* (early seventh century A.D.) writes: "There is a general of the *Śabarās*, named *Bhūkampa*, lord of all this *Vindhya* range" (Cowell and Thomas, *Harṣacaritra*, p. 232). *Haribhadra* (c. early eighth century A.D.) refers in the last story of his *Samarāiccakahā* to a *Śabara* king of the *Vindhyas*. The host of *Pisācas*, which *Guṇādhya* meets in the *Vindhyas* were, therefore, probably *Śabarās*. The *Savaras* are still widespread in the east of India, but many have Aryan forms of speech. Some still speak *Savara* (*Sora*) in the *Muṇḍā* group of languages, of which *Kūrkū* is now the westernmost outpost in the *Satpura* and *Mahadeo Hills*, not far from the *Vindhyas*. The *Bhils*, who now inhabit the *Vindhyas*, speak an old dialect of Gujarati. If the *Bhils* are descended

¹ It is, however, found in *vaḍḍa-kumārī* "an old maid" (Munisri Ratnachandraji, *ArāḍhaMagadhī Dictionary*).

from Śābaras, there has been a double change of language. If not, there has been a complete change of population. And this possibility of lack of continuity, which exists for N.W. India equally with the Vindhya, has not been considered by Grierson.

Grierson (*ZDMG.*, 1912, p. 60) identifies the Piśācas¹ with the Yakṣas and connects them with the Rākṣasas, pointing out that the three were descended from sons of Kaśyapa, who is associated with Kashmir. But already by the time of the Rāmāyaṇa (third or fourth century B.C.) Rāvaṇa is the legendary lord of the Rākṣasas in Ceylon and the Pāli epics *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa* (c. fourth to fifth centuries A.D.) record that at the time of the arrival of Vijaya Ceylon was inhabited by Yakkhas. The distinction between these three kinds of savage peoples is retained in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. In chapter ii these words occur, "The Piśāca, whom you see here, was once a Yakṣa, a servant of Kuvera. He made a friend of the Rākṣasa Sthūlaśiras (Big-head). When Kuvera saw him with this shameful creature, he condemned him to be a Piśāca in the Vindhya mountains." Budhasvāmin speaks of the nirghṛṇa Draviḍa as rākṣasa, contrasting them with the humane speakers of Gaudabhāṣā (*Ślokaṣaṃgraha*, xviii, 394). The source of the recensions may therefore have used rākṣasa as an epithet for the Dravidians and piśāca for the Śābaras. But from no standpoint can we infer that Piśāca ever denoted a race speaking a particular type of language.

DERIVATIONS OF PIŚĀCA

On the evidence it is possible only to guess the language in which the Brh. was written. But what was the origin of the words piśāca and paisācī and what the nature of the language known to the later writers as Paisācī?

Grierson stresses the identification of Piśāca with the raw-meat-eater of the Greek geographers and the cannibal of Pliny. He is supported by the description of Piśācas in the Vedas as kravyād (Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, i, 573). But Agni is also so described. G.'s association of piśāca with piśita "flesh" is probably not phonological, for piśitam "raw meat" is referable to piś (Lat. pingo) "paint", which acquires a secondary meaning of "red" in piśaṅga (cf. pinga, pinj, and pinjara). Piśāca may

¹ Peshāwar, N.W. India, may be Paisācapura, but to balance it there was Pisājjipadākam, near Nāsik (second century A.D., *Bom. Gaz.*, xvi, p. 552), Skt. Piśācipadrakam.

contain a reference to their colour, but probably the word is connected with a Dravidian root *pey* "angry, cruel, mad, devil" (appearing also in *vey* "hot", *vairi* "enemy"). Tam. *pēy* "demon", Kan. *pē* "madness", *pēmkuḷi* "demon, madness", *pētu*¹ "demon, confusion of mind", are specific forms of this root. The idea of "mad, confused" exists to-day in Mar. *pisāl* "be mad", *pisā* "mad", *piśāna-devaru* "crazy fellow" (of Kan. origin, but obsolete in Kan.). Mar. *piśāca-lipi* "crazy script" is the term applied to Moḍī and N. M. Penzer (editor of Tawney's *Ocean of Story*, p. 92) writes, "natives call the English language *piśāca-bhāṣā* goblin language, as to them it appears only as gibberish." The word *piśāca* recalls an obsolete Drav. form **pic*pec* (cf. Kan. *pisaru* "infatuation", Tel. *pisa* "folly"). Hem. (i, 177, 193) gives the Pkt. forms *pisāji*,² *pisallo*, and *pisão*, which suggest an original *pisa*. If the root is Drav., it may have been applied first to Śabaras by Dravidians, but has no connection with raw meat. It would not be worth while making this point, for clearly the kind of people to be called *piśāca* may have been eaters of raw meat, were it not that it is important to show that the connection of *piśāca* with the meaning "confusion of mind" is ancient and that the term is likely to have been used in the past for people whose language was unintelligible. This is the best explanation of the substitution of *Paiśācī* for *Bhūtabhāṣā* by the later writers and their attempt to find a dialect, which would illustrate their theories.

PAISĀCĪ: THE LANGUAGE

Ujjoana, who first mentions *Pai.* as a language (A.D. 777), does so under the names *Pesāya-bhāṣillā* and *Pesāyā*. Until his time *Apabhramśa* was "a collective term employed to denote literary languages not Sanskrit or Prakrit", as Keith states (*HSL.*, p. 32) following Jacobi. Or alternatively it is the vernacular of the Āhiras as used for literary purposes and adopted with suitable modifications by speakers of other vernaculars. But it tended to become stylized, a process which culminated in the extremely regular *Apabhramśa* of Jinadatta Sūri (fl. A.D. 1100), who celebrates in his *Caaccarī*³

¹ *Pāli* *pēta* "dead, deceased, ghost, demon" (Skt. *preta*), with no idea of madness. Tam. *pētu* "mental derangement", Tel. *pēda* "timid", have no sense of "demon" and the Kan. meaning is therefore borrowed from *pēta*.

² *Pisāji* is found in the Nāsik inscription of Puṣyamāyī, *Bom. Gaz.*, xvi, p. 552.

³ *GOS.*, xxxvii, text, pp. 1 ff. See also *JRAS.*, 1938, pp. 67-9, "Note on List of Tod MSS. No. 114."

the praises of the poet and grammarian Jinavallabha Sūri. Ujjoaṇa employs *Pesāyā* as a collective term to denote languages not Skt., Pkt., or Apa. His hero hears a language which puzzles him and thinks, “This is not Sanskrit, Prakrit, or Apabhraṃśa. It must therefore be *Paisācā*” (fol. 57-8, *GOS.*, xxxvii, pp. 97-8). The editor omits to give a specimen of the language to which he refers and the complete text of the *Kuvalaya-mālā* is at present unavailable.

Rudraṭa (c. A.D. 840) is the originator of what were known afterwards as the *ṣaḍbhāṣā* (e.g. *Lakṣmīdhāra*, sixteenth century). They are Skt., Pkt., *Māgadha*, *Pisācabhāṣā*, *Śaurasenī*, and *Apabhraṃśa*. It is not clear why this classification is made and Rudraṭa does not use the terms *paisācā* or *paisācī*, but *Pisācabhāṣā* (gibberish). A Cambodian inscription (c. A.D. 875) describes *Guṇādhya* as *prākṛtāpriyaḥ* “enemy of Prakrit”, and the *Kavirājamārgga*, a Kan. work of c. A.D. 860, recognizes only *Sakkada*, *Pāgaḍam*, *Paḷa-Gannaḍam* (Old Kanarese), and *Kannaḍam*,¹ and makes no mention of Daṇḍin’s classification, although it is clearly founded on the *Kāvyaadarśa*, many ślokaś from which it translates.

Rājasekhara (c. A.D. 900) reverts to the Tetrad of Ujjoaṇa in his *Kāvya-mimamsa*. The *Kāvya-puruṣa* has Skt. for his head, Pkt. for his arms, Apa. for his loins, and *Paisāca* for his feet (*GOS.*, i³, p. 6). But Rāj. prefers the term *bhūtabhāṣā*. Thus he refers to the use of *Bhūtabhāṣā* by the poets of *Avanti*, the *Pariyātrā* mountains and *Daśapura* (the *Malwa* region). S. Konow makes much of this as indicating the “home of *Paisācī*” (*JRAS.*, 1921, p. 244), but as Rāj. also says that the *Gauḍas* use Skt., the men of *Lāṭa* prefer Pkt., and the men of *Maru*, *Ṭakka*, and *Bhādānaka* (*Marwar* and part of the *Panjab*), all employ Apa., it is clear that no such conclusion can be drawn. Rāj. may be generalizing from the legendary connection of *Guṇādhya* with *Ujjain*, as recounted in the *Nepālamāhātmya* (Keith, *HSL.*, p. 267).

The use of the forms *pesāyā* and *paisācam* instead of the longer *pisāca-bhāṣā* marks the recognition of the language as a literary entity, no longer a vague gibberish. The first to use the word *paisācīkam* is the Kanarese poet and metricist *Nākiga* or *Nāga-varmma* (c. A.D. 990). He writes (*Chandassu* usually known as *Chandōmbudhī* 67, p. 22 Kittel’s edition) as follows.

Adentendode² Saṃskṛtaṃ Prākṛtaṃ Apabhraṃśaṃ Paisācīkaṃ

¹ Or *tamma nuḍi* “our own tongue”.

² *adu entu enda oḍe* “what is that, if it be said”.

emba mūru-v-are bhāṣagaḷoḷ puttūva Draviḍ-Āndhra-Karṇāṭak-ādi ṣaṭpancāsat sarva-viśaya-bhāṣā-jātiḡaḷ akkuṃ.

"In reply to possible queries, there will be the fifty-six varieties of language, Tamil, Telugu, and Kanarese, etc., which originate from the three and a half languages, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa, and Paisācika to wit."

Here two points are to be noticed. The Dravidian languages are claimed as included in the Skt. group, i.e. they are no longer Mleccha, and one of the languages, presumably Paisācī, is described as only half a language. In one MS. only the languages are stated to be four. The phrase "three and a half languages" is also used by the ubhaya-kavi-cakravartti Ponna or Ponniga, "emperor of poets in Skt. and Kan." (c. A.D. 980).¹ No reason is given for calling Pai. half a language. It may possibly indicate the non-Sanskritic element in Dravidian languages, but this is a surmise.

The Daśarūpa of Dhanamjaya (last quarter of tenth century) refers to the language as Paisāca (Pischel, *PG.*, § 27).

The first use of the word paisācī is found in the Sarasvatī-kanṭhābharana of Bhojadeva (say A.D. 1030), associated with Bhūtabhāṣā and Bhūtavacana (Pischel, *id.*). Namisādhu (fl. A.D. 1068) speaks of Paisācika and Paisāciki in his commentary on Rudraṭa (Pischel, *id.*). After this period all the forms mentioned above are in use, but Paisācī is perhaps the most common. There are two interesting undated uses, one the word paisācī in chapter x of the Prākṛta-prakāśa, and the other the word paisāciki in Caṇḍa's Prākṛtalakṣaṇa (iii, 38). L. Nitti-Dolci has proved in her notable contribution to the history of Pkt. grammar in *Les grammariens prakrits*, 1938,² that the three last chapters of the Prākṛta-prakāśa cannot be the work of Vararuci. The use of the word paisācī seems to date them and the imperfect commentary (which cannot be ascribed to Bhāmaha), c. A.D. 1000. Keith, *HSL.*, p. 433, believes that there are two recensions of Caṇḍa's work, one older than Vararuci and the other younger. But the word paisāciki seems to date the particular sūtra c. A.D. 1100.

Further, in a sūtra, which Hoernle discards (*CD.*, 11), a quotation is made from the Paramātmaprakāśa (Dūhā) 86 of Joinda or

¹ Śāntipūrāṇa, quoted by L. Rice, *KBB.*, p. iv. The dates assigned by Rice before the two Nāgavarmas were distinguished (by R. Narasimhachar in *Kāvyaśālokaṃ and Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣa-bhūṣaṇa Introduction*) have been revised.

² Cited as *GP.*

Yogindra.¹ His date is unknown, but L. Alsdorf (*Apabhraṃśa Studien*, p. 60) states that his language gives him an impression of distinct lateness,² but requires a more complete examination. Now a colophon to a Paṭṭāvali in praise of Jinadatta Sūri (*GOS.*, xxxvii, p. 112, note) runs: iti śrī Paṭṭāvali: saṃ 1171 varṣe Paṭṭana-mahānagare śrī Jayasimha-deva-vijayirājye; śrī Kharatara-gacche; Yogindra-yugapradhāna-vasati-vāsi-śrī-Jinadatta-sūrinām śiṣyeṇa Brahmacandraganina likhitā. Yugapradhāna is a higher grade than sūri and until further evidence is available it can be presumed that Yogindra the poet is Yogindra the yugapradhāna, the host of the poet Jinadatta Sūri.³ In A.D. 1113 Jinadatta was aged 39 and had been a sūri for two years (*GOS.*, xxxvii, Intro., p. 64). Jogindra may have written the Paramātma-prakāśa twenty or thirty years before. The date of Caṇḍa's revisionists or of Caṇḍa himself, if the “revision”, as is quite possible, consisted merely of rough notes for a revision, could not have been earlier than A.D. 1080. Nitti-Dolci from internal evidence believes that he is not necessarily prior to Hemacandra (Je n'oserais pas assurer d'après ces faits que Caṇḍa a été un des prédecesseurs de Hemacandra, *GP.*, p. 205).

After Namisādhu the terms Pisāca-bhāṣā, Paisācī, Paisācika, etc., were used as a rule indifferently with Bhūtabhāṣā. Rāmaśarman, however, appears to distinguish Paisācī from Paisācika (Grierson, *EPG.*,⁴ p. 124).

¹ One would expect Yogendra, but Yogindra is well attested.

² “Y's sprache macht einen recht späten Eindruck, doch bedarf dies noch genauerer Prüfung.”

³ A. N. Upadhye, *Ann. Bham. Inst.*, xii, pt. ii, pp. 132 ff., discusses Yogindra and his works, but dates Caṇḍa much too early.

⁴ Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians and Paisācī Prakrit.

(To be continued.)

The Mongol Army

By H. DESMOND MARTIN

PART I

GRENARD has said, "It is largely because of human nature's delight in superlatives, that the world's famous captains have always been given perfectly fabulous hosts. Great generals must have huge armies. The names of Genghis Khan (Chinghiz Khan), Timur, Alexander, and Xerxes mount like wine to the brain of the historian. His figures become figures of speech: 'one hundred thousand' becomes his minimum. He soon leaps to 'one million'. He does this with a sense of relish but also because he knows that his reader will tremble with pleasurable awe at the passing of a conqueror who leads countless warriors."¹

When Chinghiz Khan conquered the empire of Khwarazm he is reported to have been at the head of 700,000 men, and his grandson, Batu, was believed to have over-run Russia and Central Europe with an army 500,000 strong. Besides the reason alleged by Grenard for such exaggerations there was among medieval historians also the wish to excuse defeat by saying that Mongol victories were due to overwhelming numerical superiority.

Of late, more careful examination of original documents and fuller knowledge on the means and military system of the Mongols has revealed the truth. Their triumphs were the outcome of splendid organization, discipline, and leadership, not of great numbers. Robert of Spoleto, a contemporary of the Mongol invasion of Central Europe, speaking of them, says: "There is no people in the world who know so well how to overcome an adversary in the open by skill in warfare."²

Whenever it is possible to estimate the numbers of Mongol forces one finds that frequently they were heavily outnumbered by their enemies. In 1211 Chinghiz Khan marched against the Chin (rulers of North China and Manchuria) with hardly more than 110,000 men—about one-sixth of the forces of his opponent. During 1219 he mobilized perhaps 150,000 effectives for the war against the Khwarazm Shah. On that occasion, while the army opposed to him was neither as large—at a guess approximately 300,000—or as well organized as that of the Chin, he had to march west nearly

¹ Fernand Grenard, *Babur first of the Mongols*.

² Fernand Grenard, *Genghis Khan*.

one thousand miles from his last home base before reaching the enemy's border.¹ In 1216, three years before hostilities had officially begun with the Moslem potentates, 20,000 Mongols under the generals Sübötai and Toguchar, were attacked in the present province of Turgai (north of the Sea of Aral) by a Khwarazmian army of 60,000 men. The Mongols declared that they did not wish to fight, but the Shah replied that he regarded all infidels as enemies and forced an engagement. Although so outnumbered the Mongols nearly won before nightfall put an end to an indecisive battle. Deciding to retire the two generals set fire to piles of wood and withdrew under cover of night.² The Shah was greatly impressed with the bravery of the Mongols, and in the words of a Moslem historian: "A fear of these unbelievers was planted in the heart of the Sultan, and an estimation of their courage; if anyone spoke of them before him he said that he had never seen men as daring and as steadfast in the throes of battle, or as skilled in giving blows with the point and edge of the sword."³ In the troops of Chinghiz Khan, numerical inferiority, both on the battlefield and on campaign, was common.

As the Empire expanded ever greater numbers of non-Mongol troops were enrolled in the army, but even then the largest field force of which we have any reliable record cannot have counted more than 200,000. This was the army placed under the great general Bayan in 1275 for the conquest of the Sung Empire of South China.

The strength of the Imperial forces when the Mongol Empire reached its zenith is a matter of conjecture, perhaps they totalled about 1,000,000, but of the Mongol army proper we have some definite information.⁴ D'Ohsson, quoting Rashid ad-Din, says that

¹ Chinghiz Khan spent the summer of 1219 on the south side of the Altai Mountains grazing his cavalry along the Qara Irtysh and Urungu Rivers. Then, resuming his march in the autumn, he probably reached the Khwarazmian frontier some time during November, 1219. In his article on Chinghiz Khan in the *Encyclopædia Islamica* Barthold contends that since a considerable part of the Mongol army proper was required in the east not more than 70,000 Mongols can have participated in the war against Khwarazm. The rest of the troops, he says, came from subject peoples. The Uighur and Qarluqs we know contributed contingents, and beyond a doubt the Qirghiz, Solon, Khitan, and Öngüt did the same. Perhaps, as with Muqali in China, there were even Jürchät troops.

² Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*.

³ Harold Lamb, *Genghis Khan*.

⁴ The military power of the Mongols can be said to have reached its zenith under Möngke Khan (1251-9), for after his death parts of the Empire were intermittently torn by civil war.

at the death of Chinghiz Khan in 1227 it numbered 129,000 effectives ; 62,000 in the Army of the Left wing, 38,000 in the Army of the Right wing, 1,000 picked men in the centre which was also the Imperial guard, 4,000 men in each of the guards of the princes Jüchi, Djaghatai, and Ögödaï, and 16,000 divided among the other members of the Imperial family. Erdman, drawing on a different edition of the same work, gives 230,000 ; the Khan's guard 1,000 men, the centre 101,000, the left-wing 52,000, the right-wing 47,000, the guards of Jüchi, Djaghatai, and Ögödaï, 4,000 men each, and the rest of the Imperial family, 17,000.¹

The Central, Left, and Right wing armies, as will be shown later, here refer to territorial distribution and have nothing to do with order in the field.

As regards the troops of the three princes, the small forces mentioned were but a fraction of their troops at the death of Chinghiz Khan, the majority of which came from appanages conquered outside Mongolia before 1227. The fourth son Tului received by traditional right of inheritance the Central, Left, and Right wing armies, that is the greater part of the Mongol army proper, at his father's death.²

What is known of the population of outer Mongolia makes it unlikely that in Chinghiz Khan's day the people were much more numerous than now. A recent Soviet census estimates them at 800,000. If to this be added the Mongols of Buryat Mongolia and former North Chakhar, a total of about 1,000,000 is reached, which may well approximate to the population under Chinghiz Khan when his work of unification was completed. From this 129,000 men could have been drawn, but not 230,000. Adding together the units detailed by Erdman, save the 101,000 for the centre, it is found that the total is also 129,000, so it seems that the figure for the centre must be a mistake. Probably the centre corresponded to the Guard or Kāshik numbering, says the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*, 10,000 chosen men and including (see Barthold, Chinghiz Khan, *Enc. Isl.*) a specially picked 1,000 that only took the field when

¹ These he divides as follows : Kulgan, son of Khulan Khatun, 4,000 ; Temüge Ochighin, youngest brother of Chinghiz Khan, 5,000 ; the sons of Jüchi Qassar, first brother of Chinghiz Khan, 1,000 ; Elchigidai, son of Qachiun Ülchi, Chinghiz Khan's second brother, 3,000 ; the Queen Mother Hs'elün Eke (then dead), 3,000 ; and supernumeraries 1,000. With the exception of the last 1,000 D'Ohsson's enumeration is the same as that of Erdman.

² See Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*.

Chinghiz Khan went to war. The army therefore may have counted 138,000 effectives, 62,000 or 52,000 in the army of the Left wing, 38,000 or 47,000 in the army of the Right wing, 10,000 in the Guard (Kāshik) or army of the Centre, 12,000 divided between Jüchi, Jaghatai, and Ögö dai, and 16,000 or 17,000 distributed among the other members of the Imperial family.

By the time that Ögö dai succeeded to the throne in 1229 these forces must have been more than doubled by the addition of troops from the Solang (Solon), Öngüt, Khitan, Jürchät, Qirghiz, Tangut, and Chinese and by nomad tribes formerly subject to the empires of Qara Khitay and Khwarazm. Even so an army ranging from 300,000 to 400,000 men was small for the control and extension of dominions as vast as those of Chinghiz Khan. The Mongol armies, while large when compared with those of Medieval Christendom,¹ were at first numerically inferior to the forces of the major powers encountered by them in Asia.

Some modern writers have tended to treat the Mongol army as something unique in the history of war. Better than any other mounted force before or since, it demonstrated that cavalry need not rest on a stable infantry base. "Although," says Liddell Hart, "cavalry was the decisive arm of both Alexander and Hannibal, it formed merely the mobile wings hinged on an essentially protective infantry centre, which was the pivot on which it manoeuvred."²

To the world of the Roman Empire and the Near East an army composed entirely of horsemen was something almost unknown, but among the pastoral peoples dwelling north of the Black Sea and in Central and Northern Asia mounted forces had long been used.³ Chinese records show that from the rise of the Hsiung-nu

¹ By far the largest and most efficient army of Medieval Christendom was that of the Byzantine Empire. From the time of its reorganization in A.D. 640 until its disastrous defeat by the Seljuq at Manzikert in A.D. 1071, it never numbered over 150,000 effectives and sometimes no more than 120,000. Of these 24,000 were stationed in Constantinople, 70,000 in Asia Minor, and the rest in Europe. (See Robert Byron, *The Byzantine Achievement*.)

² Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, *Great Captains Unveiled*, study on Jenghiz Khan and Sübötai.

³ The battle of Carrhae in 53 B.C., where the Parthian Suren utterly defeated a Roman army of 42,000 men, was the only occasion on which the Hellenistic world saw an engagement where one army was composed solely of horsemen. Then, contrary to the usual Parthian practice of combining cavalry and infantry, the Suren had nothing but mounted troops. Tarn contends that his force did not exceed 10,000 effectives, the majority of which were light armoured bowmen, the remainder

in the third century B.C. to the fall of the Dzungar in the eighteenth century A.D., the armies of the steppes closely resembled each other in organization, strategy, and tactics. Only in discipline and leadership did some excel. It is because of their unusually fine leadership that Léon Cahun, for example, has fallen into the error of supposing the Mongols invented a war machine unprecedented in history, and were the founders of a new school of war. Actually they brought an old one to a perfection never before attained.

PART II

In most respects the Mongol of to-day resembles his forbears. Of middle height, but made to appear broader than he is by his riding boots and sheepskin coat, he possesses great powers of endurance. Just as in the thirteenth century he conquered Russia during the winter—crossing large rivers on the ice—the present day Mongol thinks nothing of travel in the bitterest cold. But though he can still remain in the saddle many hours without food or sleep, it is long since he has been required to endure the privations demanded of his ancestors in the days of conquest. Marco Polo tells us that the Mongol warrior often slept mounted and armed while his horse grazed, and could go ten days without cooking food.¹ On such occasions he lived on his iron ration, which consisted of ten pounds of dried milk curd, two litres of kumis (fermented mare's milk) and a certain quantity of cured meat. According to some authorities he would in necessity also eat carrion and even use the blood of his horse by opening a vein in its neck. Then as now Mongol sight and sense of direction was extraordinary. This sense must have helped them, without maps, to make those marches over the wilderness that have so amazed the world.

If the Mongol compels our admiration so does the horse he rode. From thirteen to fourteen hands in height, watered once a day and for the most part grass fed, the Mongol pony is unequalled the world over for stamina. Capable of journeys impossible to

heavily armoured lancers. In addition there was a corps of 1,000 camels for carrying spare arrows. Despite the brilliant success of this new type of army it disappeared with the Suren, who was murdered shortly after Carrhæ by King Orodes I. (See G. Rawlinson, *The Sixth Oriental Monarchy*; and Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*.)

¹ See *The Book of Marco Polo*, Yule, Cordier, vol. i, chap. liv. Marco Polo says that the Mongols living in Cathay and the Levant had much degenerated from their forbears and those living in Tatar proper (Mongolia).

other horses, it contributed in no small measure to the mighty conquests of its rider. Carruthers in his *Unknown Mongolia* says that a Mongol on a single pony will ride from Urga to Kalgan—by the shortest route 600 miles—in nine days.¹ If greater speed is necessary one or more spare mounts are led. During the thirteenth century Mongol troops, with the use of spare horses, carried out marches unrivalled for speed by either ancient or modern armies. During September, 1221, Chinghiz Khan, hoping to overtake the Khwarazmian Jalal ad-Din, went from Bamian to Ghazni via Kabul in two days without allowing his men a single halt long enough to prepare food.² The distance covered was about 130 miles, an astonishing achievement when one realizes that the country crossed was some of the highest and roughest in Afghanistan. In 1241 an army under his grandson Batu invaded Hungary, and in crossing the pass of Ruska in the Carpathians, the vanguard is reported to have marched 180 miles between the 12th and 15th March.³ Such feats could only have been done by men and horses possessed of remarkable staying powers.⁴

Of the training of the Mongol pony in the past there is not much information. The Chinese general, Mêng Hung, a contemporary of Chinghiz Khan, states that then as now horses were never ridden regularly until three years of age. When broken in, he says, 100,000 could be assembled without difficulty and if left untied they never strayed.⁵ Grenard—see *Gengis Khan*—asserts that they were obedient to the sound of the voice and were trained to permit the archer to shoot, not only while in the saddle, but from behind them when dismounted. Finally, from Friar John Plano Carpini, it is learned that whenever possible, horses ridden one day were not ridden for three or four days afterwards.⁶

As many a stricken battlefield bore witness Mongol horsemanship and archery made the armies of Chinghiz Khan and his successors almost invincible. Taught to ride at the age of three by his mother,

¹ Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, vol. ii, p. 133.

² D'Ohsson; Djuwayni.

³ Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, *Great Captains Unveiled*, study on Jenghiz Khan and Sübötai.

⁴ Batu's invasion was of course made largely on horses drawn from the Volga and the steppes north of the Black Sea, but in all essentials these were the same as those from Mongolia.

⁵ See Mêng Hung; the *Mêng Ta Pei-lu*.

⁶ See *The Journey of Friar John Plano Carpini*, chapters 15 and 16, Beazley, Hakluyt.

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the young Mongol was tied on to the back of a horse. On reaching the age of four or five he was given his first bow and arrows and from then on was encouraged to spend as much time as possible hunting on horseback. Consequently his riding and archery became superb.¹

The saddle used by the Mongol was made of wood and was kept rubbed with sheep's fat to prevent swelling in the rain. Its weight, according to Mêng Hung, was from seven to eight catties, or about nine and a half pounds to eleven pounds. High in the back and front it enabled the rider to retain a rock-firm seat while shooting toward any point of the compass.

The bow was of the compound type, was very large, and required a pull of at least 120 catties (160 lb.),² and its destructive range was from 200 to 300 yards.³ The arrows discharged were, says Marco Polo, of two types, light ones with small sharp points for long range shooting and pursuit, and heavy ones with large broad heads for close quarters. In action thirty of each were carried by every trooper. Plano Carpini says that the Mongol carried two bows and that his arrow heads cut two ways like a sword and were hardened by dipping red hot into brine, after which they could pierce armour. Mêng Hung enumerates three types of arrow, the sounding arrow, the camel-bone arrow, and the armour-piercing, the shafts of all being equipped with eagle feathers.⁴

Other Mongol weapons were light, sharp sabres imported or copied from the Moslem Turks of the west, short and long lances (according to Carpini provided with a hook for pulling men out of the saddle), and a mace.

Mongol armour, besides a steel cap helmet with leather neck-piece, was either of hide, lacquered to prevent humidity, or of overlapping iron scales laced together, and scoured so bright that one could see the reflection of the face. Both kinds were used for men and horses alike. The hide armour consisted of six layers

¹ See Mêng Hung. Among the Hsiung-nu babies were taught to ride on sheep and to shoot rats and birds with small bows and arrows. (See Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*.)

² Mêng Hung, *The Mêng Ta Pei-lu*.

³ Harold Lamb, *Tamerlane*, note on bows in the East and West. Grenard, *Gengis Khan*. Murdoch, *History of Japan*, vol. i.

⁴ Describing the equipment of the Khitan army, which was very like that of the Mongols, Parker says that each soldier had to keep in readiness four bows and 400 arrows. (See *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*.)

tightly sewn together and shaped, after being softened by boiling, to fit the body.

Mêng Hung also mentions four kinds of shield, large skin or willow-wood shields—probably for sentry duty only—smaller shields carried by front rank troops to ward off arrows when on foot, a visor worn over the face, and large tortoise shields for assaulting towns.

According to Mêng Hung the Mongols at the time of their war with the Chin were better equipped than any previous invaders of China. This he attributed to their supplies of iron. Before the days of the Chin, he declares, there was an embargo on the sale of iron and weapons to the north, but subsequently both were exported in considerable quantities.¹

The remaining field equipment of the Mongol included a hatchet, a file for sharpening arrow heads, a rope for pulling wagons and engines of war, an iron cooking pot, two leather bottles, and a leather bag closed by a thong to keep clothes and other equipment dry when crossing rivers. Every man also had a fur helmet and a fur or sheepskin coat with the hide turned outwards, while to so many troopers a small tent was provided against rain.

PART III

Like the Hsiung-nu and Turk before them every able-bodied Mongol from sixteen to sixty-one years of age was liable to military service.² In peace-time, too, all called upon to participate in the annual winter hunt were obliged to appear. These hunts, undertaken both as a military exercise and to provide a supply of meat, took the form of a campaign. During a whole month the steppes and the mountains were beaten and game was driven into a vast

¹ In the same notice Mêng Hung asserts that most of the iron was in the shape of coins formerly circulated by the Sung in Ho-Tung (Shan-hsi), but after the conquest of this province by the Chin the money was abolished and the inhabitants sold it to the T'a-T'a.

² Mêng Hung says from the age of 15 to 61, but the Chinese regard a child as one year old at its birth. Parker, see *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, says that among the Hsiung-nu every male strong enough to draw an ordinary bow was liable for military service.

retreat selected beforehand. Once all were gathered there the beaters closed the area by a cordon, broken neither by ravines, rivers, or marshes. Sentinels were posted, signal fires lit, and every precaution taken to prevent the trapped animals escaping. At the same time it was forbidden under pain of death to use weapons against them. Finally the Khan opened the chase, the princes and nobles followed, and after they had killed their choice of game, the sport was thrown open to the surrounding troops. When all was over the Khan criticized the operation as one would a campaign of war.

Adhering to the recognized usage of the steppes the Mongol army was divided territorially into three main forces, the army of the Left wing or east (jun-qar), the army of the Right wing or west (bara'un-qar), and the army of the Imperial Ordu or centre (qol). The organization of these was on a decimal basis, the strongest unit being the Tümen or 10,000, which could itself constitute an army corps. Each such Tümen was divided into ten regiments of 1,000 (minggan), each regiment into ten squadrons of 100 (jaghun), and each squadron into ten troops of 10 (arban). The individual clans and tribes of the empire were grouped or divided so that units of 1,000 to 10,000 men could be mustered at the shortest notice. "At the head of each unit," says Vladimirtsov, "Chinghiz Khan placed men he knew personally and trusted and who were as a rule kinsmen of the men under their command. This policy preserved the clan constitution from decomposition, while giving it at the same time a regular, if rudimentary, military skeleton. In the place of men who had become chiefs by chance were placed commanders of the same aristocratic origin, but bound by their service to the Khan and by military discipline." As a sign of authority the commander of an army was given a great drum which was sounded only at his order. Sometimes two or three generals were set over an army, but one among them was always senior. If the Khan was present, all marched under his orders, which were issued from beneath the white nine-tailed standard of the Imperial Ordu.¹

Attached to this Ordu and organized for its protection was the Guard (Kāshik), which I believe should be identified with the army

¹ On one memorable occasion Chinghiz Khan gave such a banner to his general Muqali, who in 1217 was made commander-in-chief of all forces in China and whose orders were to be obeyed as his own. (See T'u Chi, *The Měng-wu-érh Shih*, Biog. of Mu-hua-li (Muqali).)

of the centre (qol). Like the other military institutions of the Mongol it was nothing new. Both Turk and Khitan before them had imperial guardsmen, and all Chinghiz Khan's rivals in Mongolia had body-guards.¹ In the biography of the Khitan Yeh-lü Tuqa it is definitely stated that he was sent by the Chin emperor to enter the Kerait guard while residing at the court of Toghrul the Wang Khan.

The guard constituted the crack force of the Mongol army, and had precedence over all other troops. The year 1203, in which Chinghiz Khan overthrew the Kerait, is the earliest date for which there is an account of its organization. Then 70 men were selected for the day-guard (Turqa'ut) and 80 men for the night-guard (käbtä'üt). Besides these there were 400 archers (qorchi) and a personal guard of 1,000 braves (ba'atur) who formed the advance guard in battle and part of the court guard in peace. Barthold also includes table-deckers (bawurchi), door-keepers (perhaps egüdenchi), grooms (akhtachi), and commissary officers of the imperial ordu (cherbi), all of whom held important posts in the guard.

During 1206, when Chinghiz Khan assumed supreme power, the strength of the guard was augmented. "Formerly," he said, "I had only eighty night-guards and seventy day-guards, but since Heaven has ordered me to rule all nations, 10,000 men shall form my guard. All must be chosen from among the sons of nobles or of freemen and must be well-built, agile, and hardy. The son of a commander of 1,000 shall bring with him a kinsman and ten comrades, and the son of a commander of 100 shall bring a kinsman and five comrades, and the leader of ten, as well as freemen (darqan, i.e. freemen enjoying special privileges), a kinsman and three comrades. If anyone opposes these regulations he shall be punished, and if any night-guardsmen refuse to stand watch he shall be expelled. Whoever wishes to become a guardsman shall not be prevented."

In this way the Turqa'ut was raised to 1,000 men and the käbtä'üt first to 800 men then to 1,000; the 400 qorchi to 1,000, and on the model of the original 1,000 ba'atur, another 6,000 were formed. The guard (käshik), which was Chinghiz Khan's personal army, only took the field when he himself went to war. In camp the original 1,000 ba'atur were placed in front of his quarters, the

¹ The Khitan imperial guard numbered 5,600 men; see Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*.

qorchi and turqa'ut on the right and the kăbtă'üt and remaining 6,000 ba'atur on the left. The watches of the guard were divided into four shifts of three days each.¹

For the guidance and protection of the guard Chinghiz Khan issued the following rules:—

"1. The commander of the shift on duty must himself stand night watch.

"2. The guard must be changed every three days.

"3. The first failure of a guardsman to appear on duty was to be punished with thirty strokes, a second failure with seventy strokes, and a third failure with thirty-seven strokes and expulsion from the guard.

"4. Delinquent guardsmen were to be punished only after the Khan had himself given the necessary order.

"5. All misdemeanours were to be reported to the Khan, and any officer punishing on his own initiative was himself to be punished.

"6. A member of the guard was to rank higher than any soldier of the line.

"7. The families of guardsmen were to be held superior to all others.

"8. Any outsider quarrelling with a guardsman was to be punished.

"9. The archers of the guard were to give up their bows to the night watch when it went on duty.

"10. The night watch was to arrest all persons found prowling about after dark.

"11. When the new shift went on duty it must show an official stamp of authority.

"12. Any person wishing an audience at night must first consult the commander of the shift on duty.

"13. No one might mingle with the guard while it was on duty.

"14. No one might inquire the day of duty of the guard, anyone doing so was to be fined his clothing and a saddled horse.

"15. The inner cherbi and the shepherds were to be subordinate to the night watch.

¹ Information on the organization and strength of the Guard has come from Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*; Vladimirtsov, *The Life of Chinghiz Khan*; and Palladius' translation of the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*.

"16. The guard was to have charge of the commissary of the inner tents (doubtless Chinghiz Khan's own household).

"17. The guard was to examine carefully all persons passing in and out of the camp.

"18. The camp was always to be guarded by members of the night watch.

"19. The night watch were never to be absent from the Khan and were only to take the field when he went to war.

"20. In the hunt the guard were always to be about his person.

"21. In time of peace the camp and all in it were to be in their charge.

"22. All legal cases were to be judged by Chiqi-qutuqu—(an adopted son of Chinghiz Khan)—and one of the guard.

"23. The distribution of clothes and military equipment was the duty of the cherbi and the guard." (The cherbi had by this time been raised to six.)¹

From these regulations it is seen that if the guard was subject to strict discipline and had great responsibilities, it also enjoyed considerable privileges and the unbounded confidence and gratitude of Chinghiz Khan. To further illustrate this one need only quote the conqueror's words to his old guardsmen. "You are the bodyguardsmen of the nightwatch for the peace of my body and soul; you mounted guard all round my tent on rainy and snowy nights as well as on the clear nights of alarms and of battles with the enemy. Owing to you I have attained to supreme power." Then to those about him. "My descendants shall regard these bodyguardsmen as a monument of myself and take care of them; they shall not excite their resentment, and shall regard them as good genii."²

But the guard was more than a body of picked soldiers, it was also, as Vladimirtsov notes, an institution that, under Chinghiz Khan's personal direction and constant control, became a nursery of trusty lieutenants. "He knew each man personally and could give him tasks in accordance with his individual aptitudes." At the same time, by its aristocratic personnel, the guard strengthened Chinghiz Khan's hold on the Mongol nobility.

¹ These regulations are taken from the translation of the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih* by Palladius.

² Vladimirtsov, *The Life of Chinghiz Khan*.

PART IV

Of paramount interest in a study of the Mongol army are the strategy and tactics which played so large a part in its success. Most accounts of the major wars undertaken by Chinghiz Khan and his successors show that before any declarations of hostilities, care was taken to obtain full information on the political, economic, and military situation within the state to be attacked. Before setting out against the empire of Khwarazm in 1219 Chinghiz Khan was thoroughly conversant with its condition. Informed by the Moslem merchants in whose hands was most of the trade of Central and Northern Asia and who benefited by the order and safety that he had established along the caravan routes he was well aware of the difficulties besetting his otherwise powerful enemy. In 1211, when he marched against the Chin, he not only employed the same source of information, but was assisted by political refugees.¹ Of the reports gathered from such persons and from traders and scouts none were of greater importance than those concerning roads, passes, river fords, fortified places, towns and cities, and the military forces likely to be encountered. On the basis of such knowledge the Mongol high command drew up its plans.

Once war had been decided upon a great assembly (quriltai) was called, according to Mêng Hung during the third or fourth months of the year (approximately March or April). At this the plan of campaign, the number of men to be called up, the number of horses to be used—at least two or three spare mounts to each man—and the necessary supplies—often livestock driven on the hoof—were discussed at length.² When all had been settled the main points of concentration were fixed and mobilization orders were issued. A fact worthy of notice is that unlike so many armies of that and other days the requirements demanded rarely failed to materialize.³

¹ The principal refugees received by Chinghiz Khan were Li Tsao and T'ien Kuang-ming, who having been punished by the Chin emperor, fled to the Mongols in 1209. (See Wu Kuang-ch'êng, *The Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*.)

² Mêng Hung says that sometimes as many as six or seven spare horses were led.

³ In 1299, when Ghazan (1295-1304), the greatest of the Il-Khans of Persia, was preparing to invade Syria, he sent out instructions for the mobilization of 100,000 troops—half his entire army. These he ordered to come fully equipped and each man to have five horses. Six months' provisions were collected and 5,000 baggage camels were called up for their transport, all of which were ready at the appointed time. (See Howorth, *The History of the Mongols*, part iii.)

After enemy country was reached it was expected that further provisions would be brought in by raiding parties. The Mongols looked to the territory before them rather than to that behind to supply their wants, but when camped for the summer or for the siege of a city, the whole of the surrounding area was combed.

Not infrequently the Mongols preceded expeditions by spreading rumours exaggerating the numbers of the invading army. This was done during 1258 before the Great Khan Möngke (1251-9) invaded the province of Ssü-ch'uan in the Sung Empire. The force under his command numbered 40,000 men, but it was deliberately advertised as being 100,000 strong.

The Mongols also seldom failed to take advantage of dissension in the enemy ranks. After the fall of Samarkand in the March of 1220 Chinghiz Khan, knowing the Khwarazm Shah's distrust of those of his generals related to the Queen Mother, forged letters, ostensibly written by them, offering to betray their ruler. These he had secretly delivered to the Shah, whose nerve, already badly shaken, became convinced that a large part of his army was riddled with treachery. So instead of continuing to resist the Mongols in the east, he fled west to organize new forces in Iraq-i Ajami (Persian Iraq) and so gave Chinghiz Khan a practically unopposed passage over the Amu Darya (River Oxus).

When preparations had been completed the army of invasion was held in review to see that it was up to strength and a general inspection was made of horses and equipment. Orders were then given for the advance and the troops moved out from their respective concentration areas.

The Mongols nearly always entered a country in widely separated columns. In the face of large enemy forces or for the investment of a city these could unite at unbelievable speed, their superior mobility giving them the same security that concentration gives slower moving armies. Such dispersion not only accelerated the army's advance, but the thrust of each column was planned so that it reacted to the advantage of the others. Ahead of these went a screen of scouts, and between them and the troops they covered contact was maintained by couriers.

In no campaign is the Mongol plan of invasion better illustrated than in that fought against the Chin during the winter of 1213-14. Having by the end of November completely defeated the main field armies of the enemy, Chinghiz Khan decided to strike a crushing

blow at Chin economy north of the Huang Ho. Leaving 5,000 crack troops to block the roads to the capital Chung Tu (modern Peiking), he divided the rest of his forces into three armies. One under the princes Jüchi, Jaghatai, and Ögö dai was directed to overrun Shan-hsi, a second under the fourth prince Tului and himself marched to devastate Ho-pei and Shan-Tung, and a third under his brother Jüchi Qassar ravaged the country between Chung Tu and the sea.

Perhaps the invading troops aggregated 90,000 men, over two-thirds of which must have been in the first two armies. With the principal forces of the Chin destroyed Chinghiz Khan rightly guessed that the remainder would act on the defensive. Together these would doubtless have been sufficient to crush any one of the three columns, but the disposition of the Mongols made co-operation impossible. Before troops from Shan-Tung and Ho-pei could join those in Shan-hsi they must first fight Chinghiz Khan and Tului. Similarly a drive from Shan-hsi for a concentration in the east against Chinghiz involved a preliminary battle with the princes Jüchi, Jaghatai, and Ögö dai. By themselves neither the eastern nor western provincial forces were equal to such battles. To the north the garrison of Chung Tu, numbering 32,000 men, dared not move against the small blockading force for fear of being taken in the rear by Jüchi Qassar.¹ Thus each of the Mongol armies protected and promoted the blows of the others. From the beginning of December, 1213, to the end of January or early February, 1214, they burned, plundered, and slew at will.² "Everywhere north of the Huang Ho," says a Chinese historian, "the sound of drums rose to heaven and on every side could be seen smoke and dust."³

When in February, 1214, Chinghiz Khan concentrated the greater part of his army outside Chung Tu, only eleven cities in the ravaged area had escaped capture. Up to April a number of attempts were made to take the capital, but were all repulsed.⁴ However, dis-

¹ Help from Manchuria was also extremely difficult. The Khitan Yeh-lü Liu-ké had revolted, and after submitting to the Mongols early in 1212, fought vigorously on their behalf. (See the *Méng-wu-érh Shih*, the biog. of Yeh-lü Liu-Ké.)

² The most detailed account of this campaign is to be found in the *Méng-wu-érh Shih* of T'u Chi. The location of many of the places in the accompanying map have been taken from the *Chung Kuo Ku-chin Ti-ming Ta Tzu-Tien*.

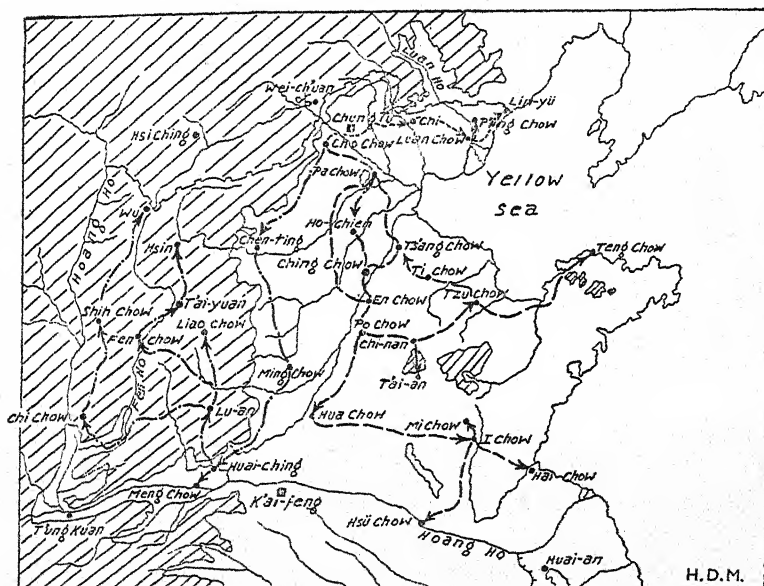
³ See the biog. of Mu-hua-li (Muqali) in the *Yüan Ch'ao Ming-ch'êng Shih-liao* of Su T'ien-chiao.

⁴ For information on the garrison, fortifications, and resistance of Chung Tu during the beginning of 1214 see the *Yüan Shih Hsin-pien*.

heartened by the defeat of his armies and the devastation of his dominions, the Chin emperor accepted Chinghiz Khan's peace terms.

All evidence goes to show that the Mongols preferred to deal with the main field forces of the enemy before penetrating any

THE MONGOL INVASION OF 1213-14



Juchi, Toghtai and Ögödei ———
Chinghiz Khan and Tolui ———
Juchi Passer - - - - -

0 100 200 300 400 Miles.

The towns shown are only those necessary to indicate the line of march and are by no means all those attacked.

distance into hostile territory. Early in September, 1213, nearly three months before setting out on the campaign just described, the Mongols had utterly crushed the Chin at Wei-ch'uan. During 1211 they had done the same thing in three battles further to the north.¹

¹ At the beginning of the invasion of 1211 the Chin failed to engage either of the two Mongol armies on their arrival in the prairies north of the Great Wall. But Chinghiz Khan, anxious to fight a field action where the terrain was favourable to his troops, waited over three months (from May to August) for the Chin to give him battle. Then, at Wu-sha pao in August and at Huan-érh-Tsui and Hui-ho pao in September or early October (all in the vicinity of present Kalgan) he won three crushing victories.

But in the invasion of the Empire of Khwarazm (1219-1222) they were favoured by no such opportunity.

For political and strategic reasons the Khwarazm Shah, despite numerical superiority, declined to give Chinghiz Khan battle in the open. Resolving to remain on the defensive he distributed the greater part of his field forces amongst the towns and cities of Transoxiana.¹

Chinghiz Khan, when he saw that he could expect no engagement on the frontier, divided his troops into four armies.² One under Jaghatai and Ögödaï marched to Otrar, which was probably invested early in December, 1219, another under Jüchi moved down the Sir Darya (River Jaxartes), with the towns of the lower river as its objective, and a third force of 5,000 men laid siege to Banakath, while the fourth and largest remained north of the Arys Pass with the conqueror and his youngest son Tului.

More than one explanation of this arrangement has been offered, but that put forward by C. C. Walker in *The Mongol Invasion of Khwarazm* seems the most acceptable.³ To quote him: "Jenghiz Khan undoubtedly hoped for an engagement on the battlefield, and if Muhammad had been an able soldier, he would have tried to destroy the armies in detail; so to help him make up his mind one weak corps (5,000 men) was offered him. If he crossed the river (the Sir) and attacked, this corps could have retreated to Otrar, where Jaghatai and Ögödaï were encamped and Jüchi would have hurried back from down river. Knowing that it was the Mongol custom to utterly destroy the local inhabitants Muhammad could have had little or no information of the army under Jenghiz that was waiting patiently north of the pass. An engagement at Otrar should have seemed most desirable to Muhammad, for with his army of 100,000 men (the forces of Samarkand and Bukhara) and other 50,000 men in Otrar under Inaljuk, Jaghatai and Ögödaï should have been in a trap. But if he had attacked we can see the army under Jenghiz coming in on his flank and rear, and annihilation resulting. If it be objected that such a plan depended upon

¹ For a very able explanation of the strategic reasons responsible for the Khwarazm Shah's policy of defence; see C. C. Walker, "The Mongol Invasion of Khwarazm," *The Canadian Defence Quarterly*, April, 1932.

² Chinghiz Khan must have crossed the Khwarazmian border some time in November, 1219.

³ See *The Canadian Defence Quarterly*, April, 1932.

accurate timing on the battlefield between widely separated armies let it be remembered that Jenghiz Khan had mobile superiority."

The action never took place, but as Walker remarks the delay of the army under Chinghiz is difficult to explain unless one was contemplated.

MONGOL CONQUEST OF TRANSOXIANA



After waiting from December, 1219, to February, 1220, during which time all but the citadel of Otrar had been taken and Jüchi had met with no check, the Mongol Khan decided that it was unlikely the Shah would ever be drawn into a decisive battle. Foiled in his first plan by Muhammad's inaction he evolved another. Again one cannot do better than follow Walker.

"At the head of 40,000 to 50,000 cavalry and two companies of siege engines, Jenghiz Khan marched through the (Arys) pass and down the river (the Sir) to the Samarkand road. There he crossed and directed his forces to Jizak about half-way to Samarkand."

"He took the town ; but then instead of marching on Samarkand, the centre of enemy concentration, as modern strategy would have him do, he swung away into the desert round the range of hills called the Khrebet Nuruta and appeared before Nur. It submitted quietly and he spared the town : then he marched to Bokhara, reaching the great city in March. The garrison, 20,000 strong, defended it for some days, but either disloyalty or Muhammad's inaction had caused such a lowering of morale that they regarded the position as hopeless ; and the cavalry of the garrison deserted and fled. This force reached the Oxus, but there the Mongols came up and annihilated them. The inhabitants, left without defenders, opened the gates and the Mongols rode in.

"Jenghiz Khan, having tested out his enemy's desires and seen his plan, had correctly gauged his opponent's mind and had delivered one of the master strokes of war. At one blow, as daring in execution as it was great in conception, he had isolated Samarkand from all hope of eventual victory. Instead of hurling his splendid troops against its impregnable walls, as modern strategical thinking would have him do because it was the decisive point, he used his superior mobility to attack the weaker points of his enemy's defensive system, and when they were gone the decisive point ceased to be of importance.

"Having eliminated Bokhara as a centre of resistance, Jenghiz Khan turned back from the smoking ruins and directed his forces up the valley of the Zarafshan to Samarkand."

Without quoting Walker further it remains to be said that simultaneously Jaghatai and Ögö dai, who had at last taken the citadel of Otrar, moved to join their father before Samarkand.

Muhammad did not wait but fled across the Amu (River Oxus) with part of the Turkish soldiers of the garrison.¹

Advancing with thousands of captives, who were organized in

¹ Juwaini reports that Samarkand contained 110,000 defenders, 60,000 Turks and 50,000 Tajiks. When referring to the surrender and subsequent massacre of the Turks by the Mongols, he says that they numbered 30,000, so the Shah must have taken about half of the original 60,000 with him when he fled. (For Juwaini's report see Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*.)

sections of ten to give them the appearance of being part of the hostile troops, the two converging armies, which can hardly have exceeded 80,000 or 90,000 effectives, seemed a vast host. On the third day after their arrival a great sortie was made from the city. This was heavily repulsed and two days later Samarkand and its still large garrison, except for 2,000 men in the citadel, surrendered. Of the remnant half succeeded in fighting their way through the Mongol lines, but the rest perished when the citadel fell a month afterwards.

Chinghiz Khan's march to Bukhara may be thought an extremely hazardous undertaking because of the possibility of a sudden attack by numerically superior forces from Samarkand. But it is probable that he ran little risk of being surprised. From all reports the Mongols took good care to guard against such eventualities. Marco Polo states that besides throwing forward a scouting screen two days' march in advance of the main army, the Mongols posted similar screens on the flanks and rear. One may assume that Chinghiz Khan took similar precautions when moving on Bukhara.¹

The two campaigns just dealt with clearly indicate that the Mongols left the heavily fortified positions of the enemy until the last. Thus Samarkand was not besieged until it had been isolated, when it surrendered in less than a week. Chung Tu, the capital of the Chin Empire, took far longer. Surrounded by exceptional defences it proved impregnable when first attacked (February to April, 1214). But devastation ultimately had the desired result. In the words of the *Yüan Shih Hsin-pien*: "The Chin emperor, seeing Ho-pei, Shan-Tung, and even the country near the capital desolate, decided to move south and in the fifth month (10th June-9th July) set out for K'ai-fêng." This was what Chinghiz Khan had awaited and he lost no time in making the emperor's departure an excuse for recommencing the war. "The Chin emperor," he exclaimed, "made a peace agreement with me, but now he has moved his capital to the south; evidently he mistrusts my word and has used the truce to deceive me."² Knowing that with the

¹ According to Mêng Hung scouting detachments marched as much as 100 li and 200 li (35 and 70 miles) ahead of the army. Their duty was to inform the commander-in-chief of hostile troops in the area, towns, and villages and their means of defence, localities containing provisions, good camping grounds, and suitable sites for an engagement. Additional information was obtained from local inhabitants captured for the purpose.

² Fêng Ch'êng-chün, *Ch'êng-chi-ssu Han*.

emperor gone neither the defence of the city nor attempts to break the leaguer would be so strenuous, he dispatched an army to besiege it. This arrived outside the walls during August, 1214, and though an army of relief with a convoy of supplies was destroyed in April, 1215, it was not until June, when food was so short that cannibalism had broken out, that the city capitulated. Ten months is a long time for a siege, but had Chinghiz Khan set about it before the emperor's departure or the devastation of Ho-pei and Shan-Tung, it would have been far longer. When the Mongols besieged the last Chin emperor in K'ai-fêng (1232-3) it took fifteen months to reduce the city.

During both ancient and medieval times sieges were tedious undertakings, and to the Mongols with their lack of technical knowledge in such warfare and their limited man-power the great cities of China might have proved untakable. The walls of Chung Tu, which were constructed of stamped clay and crowned with brick battlements, measured 54 li (approximately 18 miles) in circumference and attained a height of 40 feet. Their width is unknown, but from existing remains it must have been considerable. Those of present Peiking, which are undoubtedly rather larger, are 40 feet across the top and at least 50 feet at the base. Piercing the walls of Chung Tu were twelve gates, some say thirteen, and in addition to the fortifications protecting them 900 towers and a triple line of moats.¹ Needless to say there were few cities as heavily fortified. But on the first appearance of the Mongols in China it required a place of no such strength to baffle them. When Chinghiz Khan invaded Hsia Hsia during 1209 he vainly besieged the capital Chung-hsing from July to the beginning of October.²

Taught by this and other experiences the Mongols learned to draw on the conquered for experts in such matters, and as early as 1211, though to a greater extent by the end of 1213, several Chinese soldiers versed in the technique of taking cities were in their service.

According to Hsü Ting, who was on an embassy to Ögö dai from 1235-6, the Mongols took over the majority of their siege appliances

¹ See Siren, *The Old Cities of Pei King*; also Bretschneider, *Archaeological & Historical Researches on Pei King & its environs*.

² Chung-hsing stood on or near the site of present Ning-hsia, which is smaller than its famous predecessor. Though the Tangut capital was a hard nut to crack it was equal to Chung Tu in neither size nor fortifications.

from the Moslems. But even before Chinghiz Khan invaded the lands of Islam the Chinese had provided him with most of the engines of war commonly used by the armies of ancient and medieval times.¹ When he set out against Khwarazm we are told that he took with him several companies of soldiers versed in the art of operating siege engines. Over them was a Mongol and a native of Chung Tu (Peiking). The latter, who was of foreign extraction, was doubtless the siege expert and the Mongol must have been associated with him merely for reasons of policy.²

Some authorities believe that the Mongols employed gunpowder, and from accounts of the siege of K'ai-fêng (1232-3), one gathers that both sides used crude mortars and bombs.³ Besides heavy artillery the Mongols had light catapults for use in the field, and at the battle of the Sajo in Hungary on 10th April, 1241, they captured the bridge over the river by the fire of catapults and archers.

However, the outstanding thing about Mongol siegecraft was not the size or variety of their weapons, but the numbers in which these were used and the ruthless employment of captives. The siege of Nishapur is a good example of both. Reaching the city some time in March, 1221, the Mongols found the inhabitants ready to oppose a desperate defence. Among the preparations made to resist them were 3,000 ballistæ (heavy javelin throwers) and 500 heavy catapults mounted on the walls. But the Mongols made even greater efforts, and forcing their captives to erect siege engines under fire from

¹ Colonel Yule, in a long note in *The Book of Marco Polo*, says that whereas in the Occident the largest Trebuchets were operated by a counterpoise, those in China were worked by man-power. Consequently the largest engines of this kind were built for the Mongols by Moslems. At the siege of Hsiang-yang and Fan ch'êng (1268-1273), one of the longest in history, two engineers, 'Ala ad-Din of Mosul and Isma'il of Hilla, built machines that hurled 166 lb. projectiles with such force that they penetrated the beaten clay walls to a depth of 7 or 8 feet.

² See Gaubil, *Histoire de Gentchiscan et de toute La Dynastie des Mongous ses successeurs conquérans de La Chine*, published in Paris, 1739.

In his *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* Bretschneider informs us that during the twelfth century the siege corps of the Chin army included a special company of troops practised in the use of inflammable projectiles. This body, he says, consisted of foreigners, probably Moslems. When the Mongols invaded China the Chin still used such troops, so Chinghiz Khan must have organized a similar force from deserters, one of whom will have been the officer of foreign extraction from Chung Tu (Peiking) mentioned by Gaubil.

³ See Schlegel, *The Invention of Gun-powder and Fire-arms in China Prior to the Arrival of Europeans*, the T'oung Pao, 1902.

the city, they set up 3,000 ballistæ, 300 catapults, and 700 machines for hurling burning naphtha over the walls. Besides this 4,000 scaling ladders were made and 2,500 loads of rock were brought down from the mountains. Their labour done the wretched captives were forced to head the storming parties. Careless of the losses that befell these the Mongols maintained an almost ceaseless assault, and after the moat had been filled and seventy breaches made in the walls, 10th April saw Nishapur carried by storm and every living thing in it put to the sword.¹

Wei Yuan, author of the *Yüan Shih Hsin-pien*, asserts that this employment of prisoners to work and head assaults often made the losses of the Mongols negligible. Writing of the great concentric drive in the winter of 1213-14, he says that in many places the besieged recognized their relatives in the attacking ranks and refused to fight, and thus gave the Mongols an easy victory. The contemporary Mêng Hung reports that in all areas containing towns and cities the Mongols first began with the reduction of the small surrounding places in order to provide themselves with sufficient man-power to help in the capture of the larger. Tardiness on the part of such impressed labour was visited with instant death.²

In very mountainous countries, such as Afghanistan and the Elburz, forts were often perched on heights that no assault could reach. In such localities blockading forces were left before the place until starvation had done its work.

Regarding the wholesale massacre of the people of certain towns, it should be noted that, fearful as these were in reality, they have often been exaggerated. When carried out the Mongol command generally had two objects in view: (1) to prevent the revolt of a hostile population in their rear; (2) the intimidation of other places into submission. The latter ambition was not always realized, and in China the renegade Chin general Shih T'ien-ni finally persuaded Muqali to show more clemency. The change of policy immediately bore fruit and several places making ready to resist to the bitter end surrendered.

Realizing how dangerous it was to place Mongol troops in towns

¹ See D'Ohsson.

² The Mongols were not the first to resort to this inhuman practice. In 947, when the city of Chang-Tê revolted, the Khitans, not only made unlimited use of captives to retake it, but exterminated the population when this was accomplished.

where their small numbers and inexperience of cities put them at the mercy of a possible rising, the high command usually assigned garrison duty to auxiliaries accustomed to such work. In the open country, however, regular camps were established to keep the region in order and to repel hostile attacks. These, Mêng Hung affirms, were located far enough apart to ensure adequate grazing for the horses and, whether permanent or temporary, were invariably situated on high ground. Protected night and day from surprise by outside patrols, the different camps were in constant touch with each other. Inside at least two horses always stood saddled and ready to carry messages or orders, and at night all going to and fro must use the password, which was the name of the officer on duty.

PART V

Turning to the field tactics of the Mongol army our chief source of information is again the Chinese general Mêng Hung. According to him as soon as the scouting screen of an advancing Mongol army made contact with the enemy, the main body extended its front over as great a distance as possible. This was done to outflank the hostile force.¹ On closer contact and the approach of action skirmishers went forward as a vanguard and scouts were called upon to bring in reports about local topography, lines of communication, and the strength and disposition of the opposing troops.

Accounts of the battle formation of the Mongol army are very imperfect, but probably it resembled that of the Jürchät (Chin) in their early days, and consisted of five ranks, two clad in iron scale armour and three in lacquered hide armour.

Squadrons (100 men) of these, with the heavy armoured ranks in front and the light armoured behind, were arranged so as to allow intervals between them.² Throughout the action all manœuvres

¹ Mêng Hung affirms that on occasions 1,000 men would stretch across a front of 100 li (approximately 35 miles), but probably one should read 10,000 men instead of 1,000 men.

² Ma Tuan-lin (see *Ethnographie de peuples étranges à la Chine*, section on the Nü-chin or Nü-chih) states that in the days of Akuda (1113-1123) the forces of the Nü-chih (Jürchät) were drawn up for battle in squadrons of fifty horsemen, twenty men with heavy cuirasses and long lances in front and thirty with light cuirasses and bows behind.

A Mongol squadron numbered 100 men, and from Plano Carpini one learns

were directed from the station taken up by the senior commander, who rarely if ever participated in the mêlée. His orders were transmitted by flag signals and bugle calls or at night by lamp and fire signals.

Battle begun, bodies of the light troops, one in support of another, advanced through the squadron intervals and poured volleys of arrows into the opposing ranks. Simultaneously one or both the wings began an enveloping movement to take the enemy on the flanks and rear.¹ If the first storm of arrows succeeded in disordering his array the shock troops received the command to charge. At times the whole army supported the assault when, says Mêng Hung, even if the enemy numbered 100,000 it was almost impossible to escape defeat. Should the light troops be repulsed by a charge they retired shooting backwards from the saddle, which they could do with deadly effect, and other detachments took their place and repeated the arrow storm. If these in their turn were unsuccessful the remaining light troops took up the assault. It was rare that the third onset failed, for by that time the wings of the army were probably launching a simultaneous drive on the flanks and rear of the foe and the way was paved for a decisive charge.²

that these were arranged at intervals with the heavily armoured troops of each stationed in front of the others. Mêng Hung, although he omits to give the ratio between the heavy and light troops in a squadron, specifically says that shock action was the duty of the front ranks.

B. H. Liddell Hart, in his study on Chinghiz Khan and Sübötai in *Great Captains Unveiled*, reports that the Mongol "battle formation was comprised of five ranks, the squadrons being separated by wide intervals. The troops in the two front ranks wore complete armour, with sword and lance, and their horses also were armoured. The three rear ranks wore no armour, and their weapons were the bow and the javelin." However, he does not say from where he got his information.

¹ Plano Carpini reports that such enveloping manœuvres frequently misled opponents into believing that the Mongols were far more numerous than they really were. But King Hayton of Armenia, remarking on the close and regular order of the Mongol ranks, says that their numbers were often under-estimated.

² In one of his commentaries in the *Mêng Ta Pei-hu* Wang Kuo-wei includes a note on the Khitan method of fighting an enemy in the open. The army of the Khitan, he tells us, was built up on a decimal basis. Five hundred or 700 men constituted a squadron, ten squadrons a division, and ten divisions an army corps, this last being under the orders of a senior commander.

When a general action was expected scouts were sent to make a careful reconnaissance of the local topography and lines of communication. This done the army formed its ranks and covered its advance with skirmishers.

As soon as contact was made with the enemy the attack was begun by the first of the ten squadrons. If this was successful the other nine squadrons were

Although we have no detailed description of any pitched battle fought by the Mongols, enough is known to show that the tactics outlined won some of their greatest victories. At Huan-êrh-Tsui (late September or early October, 1211) Chinghiz Khan, employing this combination of fire and shock action, defeated the most powerful army in the Chin empire.¹ Apparently the Mongol arrow storm completely disordered the Chin cavalry early in the day, for it was hurled pell-mell back on to its own infantry and involved these in such rout that by noon the Mongols were driving before them a broken and flying enemy.

From accounts of the conflict it seems that the whole Mongol army remained in the saddle and from start to finish took the offensive. Sometimes, however, numbers of men were dismounted to give their shooting greater effect and waited for the enemy to make the first onslaught. Thus, on 22nd December, 1299, at Salamiyet (30 miles N.E. of Homs in Syria) Ghazan Khan ordered part of his army to dismount. Standing behind their horses as a rampart, they awaited the attack of the heavily armoured Mamluks, and when these came within range poured storm after storm of arrows into their ranks. Surprised and broken the charging horsemen tried to reform, but Ghazan threw his still mounted troops upon them and swept the splendid cavalry of Egypt from the field.² On this occasion the men on foot were never in jeopardy of being ridden down, but it is implied by Mêng Hung, that whenever this seemed likely the men left on horseback charged forward to engage the enemy.

Another variation of the Mongol arrow storm is exemplified by

launched forward to its support and a charge was pressed home. But if the first squadron failed it was called to the rear to rest and water its horses while the second took its place. If necessary this tactic was repeated until all ten squadrons had charged forward and retired, when the first again resumed the attack and the whole procedure was carried out once more. Were a day of this insufficient to break the enemy the same thing went on for two or three days. Finally, when the opposing troops had become tired, the Khitan commander instructed his men to tie grass to the tails of their horses and set in motion yet another series of charges. At the end of it the enemy were almost sure to be overcome with dust and fatigue and would collapse before a determined onset by all ten squadrons.

¹ The Chin army may have numbered 150,000 troops, while the Mongols on the field can hardly have exceeded 65,000.

² The army of Ghazan at Salamiyet was undoubtedly the larger of the two, perhaps 50,000 strong, whereas that of the Mamluks according to Wassaf, Nuwari, and Makrizi respectively, numbered 40,000, 25,000, and 20,000. (See Howorth, *The History of the Mongols*, part iii.)

the battle of Shên-shui fought in Manchuria during the summer of 1216. Seeing that the enemy infantry were lightly armoured, the Mongol general Muqali directed several thousand of his troops to concentrate their fire at one of the points where these were stationed. So terrible was the effect that a wide gap was opened in the Chin ranks. Charging through this the Mongols overwhelmed infantry and cavalry alike and drove the whole army from the field in a tumultuous rout.

Speaking of the devastating effect of Mongol archery a chronicler, present at the battle of the Sajo (10th April, 1241), says that the men of the Hungarian army "fell to the right and left like the leaves of winter".¹ Against the armies of Christendom, Islam, and China such archery was overwhelming and generally the succeeding charge carried all before it. But in Chinghiz Khan's unification of Outer Mongolia every engagement fought was between armies composed entirely of mounted bowmen. Even from the scanty information at our disposal it is evident that these early battles were among the fiercest ever fought by the great conqueror. Since he had no advantage in the matter of fire power it is probable that as in his triumph over the coalition formed against him by the T'ai-yang of the Naiman in 1204, victory was largely due to the superiority of his shock troops.² The two most reliable accounts for this action are to be found in the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih* and in *Rashid ad-Din*.³ According to them the conflict lasted a whole day. Twice the Mongol shock troops forced the enemy to give ground without being able to break them. But as day drew to a close the Naiman, seeing the T'ai-yang wounded and dying, made a furious attack. The Mongols repelled this, and making a third charge finally won. Horsemen every one, and accustomed to the tactics of the saddle and the bow, the Naiman and their allies knew how to combat the arrow storm. Consequently they were harder to defeat than the larger but less mobile armies of China and Islam.

Besides the shock troops normally composing part of the Mongol

¹ See Vambéry, *History of Hungary*.

² According to the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih* the battle seems to have been fought to the north of Qara Qorum in the valley of the Upper Orkhon. The two armies numbered perhaps 50,000 to 60,000 men each, with an advantage of a few thousand on the side of the coalition.

³ See D'Ohsson.

battle array there was frequently a crack force of heavily armoured troops held in reserve. These were used either to strike a decisive blow if victory was hanging in the balance or to repulse a particularly formidable charge. In the battle between Chinghiz Khan and Jalal ad-Din on the River Indus (late September or early October, 1221), the Khwarazmian right nearly broke the Mongol centre. But the guard delivered a tremendous counter-attack that turned the tide of battle.

Mention has been made of the Mongol practice of enveloping the flanks and rear of the enemy. They did this by extending their wings behind clouds of dust or in the cover of valleys and hills until they overlapped those of their adversary. At times they achieved the same result by drawing an attack on their centre and retiring until the enemy had pushed so far forward that he was encircled by their wings. It was by the same manœuvre Hannibal destroyed the Roman army at Cannæ. On 8th April, 1241, Prince Henry of Silesia at the head of 20,000 Germans and Poles fell into such a trap near Lignitz and was killed with 10,000 men. Though the facts are obscure it seems that the heavy mailed horsemen of Henry's army pressed on after what they thought to be a beaten Mongol army, only to find themselves attacked on all sides and subjected to a storm of arrows that paved the way for a crushing counter charge.¹

Of all the ruses employed by the Mongols none has attracted greater attention than these feigned retreats. Even after the trick became well known it still succeeded. It is probable that neither Prince Henry nor his followers knew much about Mongol warfare, but for many of the armies so defeated no such excuse can be made. An outstanding instance is the great battle fought outside Delhi in 1299 where Zafar, general of the celebrated Sultan 'Ala ad-Din Khalji (1295-1315), was slain. Despite much experience in fighting the Mongols, Zafar seeing their left wing give way rushed forward to complete its destruction. Retreating before him the Mongols fell back until 36 miles were between them and the Sultan who was engaged with the rest of their army. Troops were then detached from this to take the general in the rear, and Zafar and the Moslem right were surrounded and annihilated. However, the Moslem

¹ The Mongol victory at Lignitz was one of those which medieval chroniclers ascribed to overwhelming numbers. Actually the Mongol troops on the field cannot have exceeded those of Prince Henry.

centre and left remained intact and the next day the Mongols broke off the engagement and withdrew.¹

Knowing the demoralizing effect of attacks in the rear the Mongols took good care to guard against them, and at Salamiyet (22nd December, 1299) Ghazan posted a special force to deal with any such attempt by the enemy. Consequently when the Mamluks detached 5,000 Arabs to come up behind the army the force was heavily repulsed.²

On occasions the Mongols continued a retreat for days. This happened in May, 1222, when they encountered the combined Qipchaq and Russian armies near the River Kalka. Perceiving that they were heavily outnumbered the Mongol commanders Jebe and Sübötai ordered a retreat. After nine days (according to some eleven) the more mobile troops of the Qipchaq and the Prince of Galitsch had forged ahead of the forces of Kieff. Meanwhile the Mongols had worked round on to both flanks, and launching a sudden attack surrounded and destroyed them before the slower moving troops could come to their help. These were then attacked in their turn. So swift was the Mongol onslaught that the men of Kieff had no time to recross the Kalka, but taking up position on a neighbouring hill were also surrounded and compelled to surrender.

More than once adversaries of the Mongols found themselves lured into an ambush, and during the conquest of Shen-hsi (1221), the Chin suffered heavily in one. Having reached the vicinity of the town of Yen-an the Mongol general Muqali sent out a reconnaissance force to ascertain the numbers and position of the enemy. Returning, the officer in command spoke as follows. "The enemy, perceiving the smallness of my force, are confident of success. It is therefore possible that a sham attack succeeded by a pretended flight may draw them into an ambush." Acting upon his advice Muqali took the road that night, and concealing his troops in two valleys to the east of the city lay in wait. Next morning the

¹ For the Mongol invasions of India see Sir Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, part iii, Turks and Afghans; also Ferishta, *History of Hindoustán*. The latter, who was Haig's source of information for the battle, believed or pretended to believe that the Mongol left was broken by Zafar and only rallied afterwards, but a critical examination of the action convinces one that the Mongols carried out a deliberate retreat to draw the general after them. The reported numbers of the contending armies are fantastic, 200,000 for that of the Mongols, and 300,000 cavalry and 700 elephants for the army of the Sultan.

² See Howarth, *History of the Mongols*, part iii.

officer who had suggested the plan went forward with a small body of men and made a demonstration in sight of the enemy. Completely deceived, the Chin, 30,000 strong, moved to the attack. Whereupon, in the words of the historian, "The Mongols threw away their drums and banners, and with the foe in hot pursuit, fled toward the ambush." There, "with a sound of drums that shook heaven and earth and a storm of 10,000 arrows," the hidden troops fell upon the Chin, who left 7,000 dead upon the field.¹

Mêng Hung, besides referring to these ruses, provides information on some less known tactics of the Mongols. When an enemy stood on the defensive with spears planted to impale charging horses, the Mongols would withdraw the main body of their troops and leave detachments of archers to harass the spear-held lines. At length lack of rest, food, water, and fuel compelled the enemy to move, whereupon the main forces of the Mongols reappeared and attacked him on the march. At times this was not done until the enemy was further wearied by the road.

Still drawing on Mêng Hung we learn that on coming up against numerically superior forces the Mongols often sent troopers to stir up dust behind their own lines by branches tied to the tails of their horses. On seeing this the enemy sometimes believed that large reinforcements were at hand and fled.

A ruse more novel, but not mentioned by Mêng Hung, was that of placing stuffed dummies on spare horses. This was done in 1221 by the Mongol general Chiqi-qutuqu when he engaged Jalal ad-Din at Biruan in Northern Afghanistan. However, the Khwarazmian prince was either undeceived or unafraid, for he charged and routed the Mongols.

If the strength of the enemy or some other emergency made a retreat necessary, the Mongols, when possible, waited until dark. Then leaving their camp fires burning they retired at speed and were far on their way before the hostile army knew of their departure.

A word must be added concerning the Mongol pursuit of beaten armies. Never in history has any army understood so well the importance of following up victory by pursuit or been so relentless in carrying it out. From the disastrous battlefield on the River Sajo (10th April, 1241), the Hungarians were harried for two days. Rogerius, an eyewitness, says: "During a march of two days

¹ See the *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, biog. of Mu-hua-li (Muqali).

thou couldst see nothing along the roads but fallen warriors, their dead bodies lying about like stones in a quarry." ¹ At the end of it an army of 50,000 to 60,000 men had been virtually destroyed.

Far longer was the pursuit of the Mamluk army defeated at Salamiyet (22nd December, 1299). Mongol soldiers were seen as far south as Jerusalem and Gaza (over 250 and 300 miles from the scene of battle).² But for tirelessness nothing surpasses the pursuit of the Chin in the autumn of 1211. Having defeated one army at Huan-êrh-tsui the Mongols pursued the remnants 30 miles towards a second force at Hui-ho pao. There another furious battle was fought, and while the main army pressed on 17 miles to the city of Hsüan-Tê Chou,³ a detachment of 3,000 troops rode over hill and dale after one of the flying Chin generals. Sixty miles from Hui-ho pao they overtook him, and though he was at the head of 7,000 men attacked and scattered them.

By pursuits of this nature the Mongols dealt such staggering blows to the field forces of their opponents that, as in the winters of 1211 and 1213, they were able to ravage the country of the defeated at will. Many armies have won great battles, but failing to carry out a proper pursuit have given the enemy time to reform, and have had their work to do over again. This the Mongols never did, and unless their losses had been particularly heavy, or their horses were worn out, or some good reason were against it, they invariably followed up victory by a relentless and annihilating pursuit.

PART VI

To form a proper opinion on the discipline of the Mongol army, a complete copy of the famous Yasa or code of Chinghiz Khan would be invaluable, but even the fragments at our disposal give some information. By the standards of to-day discipline was very severe. But to maintain the solidarity of a people at the social and cultural level of the Mongols, rigorous punishments, especially in the army, were essential. A few examples must serve. No matter what his rank, a noble was obliged to give himself up to the messenger sent by the Khan to punish him, even if the messenger was the

¹ See Vambéry, *History of Hungary*.

² See Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part iii.

³ Hsüan-Tê Chou is the present Hsüan-hua fu and is approximately twenty miles south-east of Kalgan.

lowest of his servants; and he had to prostrate himself before the man until the punishment was carried out even if it meant death.

On active service all officers had personally to inspect their troops and their armament before going into battle and to supply them with everything even to needle and thread; if any soldier lacked a necessary part of his equipment his officer was punished.

During battle, in attack or retreat, if anyone let fall his pack or bow or any baggage the man behind him must alight and return the thing to its owner; should he not do so he was put to death.

In action flight before the order to retire, plundering before the word of command, and the desertion of a comrade were punished by death.¹

Accustomed to render absolute submission to his superiors the obedience of the Mongol soldier often astonished his contemporaries. The Moslem historian Mirkhond tells us with surprise that after the defeat of the Mongols at Merj-es-Suffar in Syria during December, 1303, 5,000 men who had lost their horses were obliged to make a two months' journey home on foot, and at the end of it immediately set out on another expedition without a murmur.²

If discipline was severe and much was expected of him the Mongol soldier was at least justly treated and better cared for than the men of most armies until very modern times. In the matter of loot, each from the Khan down received his prescribed share and a special portion was allotted to those doing garrison work, holding lines of communication, or acting as the home guard.³

Often in the wars of Chinghiz Khan one encounters instances of the conqueror's concern for his men. After Jüchi's expedition to the Yenesei (1216-17) he made a point of praising the prince for not having unduly fatigued his troops in what must have been a very arduous expedition.

Perhaps the best example of Chinghiz Khan's attitude toward the treatment of soldiers on campaign comes from an excerpt in his Bilik (maxims), also extant only in fragments. Referring to one

¹ Stringent as such regulations may seem they were less severe than those enforced by the Jürchät or Chin during the twelfth century. Ma Tuan-lin states that among them, should the leader of five perish in battle, the four men under him were punished by decapitation, should the leader of ten fall the two officers of five were slain, while the loss of a leader of 100 was punished by the execution of all the leaders of ten under him. (See *Ethnographie de peuples étranges à La Chine.*)

² Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part iii.

³ See Mêng Hung, *Mêng Ta Pei-lu*.

of his officers, he said : " There is no hero equal to Yisun Beg, and no man as skilful. But not knowing fatigue and hardships on campaign he thinks that everyone has his endurance. Yet others cannot stand so much. Therefore Yisun Beg is not fit to be chief over his troops. Only a man who feels hunger and thirst, and by this estimates the feelings of others, is fit to be a commander, as he will see that his warriors do not suffer from hunger and thirst and that the four-legged beasts do not starve. The meaning of this is that the campaign and its hardships must be in proportion with the strength of the weakest man." ¹

It has already been said that command of the Mongol army was in the hands of the nobility. This consisted of an aristocracy of birth, whose topmost layer was formed by the Noyan, and a class of freemen (Darqan) who had been granted special privileges for outstanding services to the Khan.² From both Chinghiz Khan personally chose the majority of his officers. Later, owing to the extension of the empire, those of his successors who became Great Khan, were obliged to share this privilege of selection with other members of the Imperial Family.

Beside the generals and officers of Mongol blood, there were several from other nations, for neither race nor creed influenced the Mongol in the choice of lieutenants. Khitan, Tangut, Turkish, Chinese, and even Arab soldiers commanded Mongol and auxiliary troops. When Muqali was assigned the task of carrying on the war against the Chin two of the ablest soldiers left to assist him were the Chinese generals Shih T'ien-ni and Shih T'ien-ying. In the reign of Ögö dai (1229-1241) it was a general from far off Tangut who was entrusted with the final reduction of the Alans in the Caucasus during 1239. To any man of ability, Mongol, Chinese, or Persian, the road to command lay open. It was this broad-minded policy that accounts for the high standard among the generals of the Mongol army. Youth was never a bar to promotion. In 1208 Sübötai, who was no more than thirty-one years of age, was given independent command of an army to hunt down and destroy the Märkits. Again, years later in 1275, Khubilai Khan made the

¹ This excerpt from the Bilik, as well as those from the Yasa, have been taken from Riasanovsky's *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*.

² Owen Lattimore, author of *Manchuria Cradle of Conflict*, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, etc., believes that Chinghiz Khan regarded the Darqan as a valuable means of counterbalancing the hereditary aristocracy.

thirty-nine-year-old Bayan commander of the great army mobilized for the conquest of the Sung Empire. The host, which may have numbered 200,000 effectives, was the largest force ever put into the field by the Mongols. There were many older generals whom Khubilai might have chosen, but impressed by the outstanding capacity of Bayan, he raised him over their heads.

Among the existing maxims of Chinghiz Khan is the following. "The Noyans of 10,000, of 1,000, and of 100 who assemble in the beginning and end of the year to listen to our desires and then return to their commands are fit to command; but the state of those who remain in their tents and do not hear our thoughts is as a stone that falls into deep water or an arrow shot into the reeds—such men are not fit to be commanders."

From these words one might suppose that Chinghiz Khan kept a close and jealous hold on his officers, and in the realm of imperial policy he did. Once, however, a general was engaged upon a distant expedition he rarely interfered. Sure that the commander of his choice was competent and realizing that the man on the spot must have the best appreciation of local conditions, he never attempted to plan any but the opening operations of the campaign, and sometimes not even those. After Muqali marched south to push forward the war against the Chin he was left completely free to do as he thought best.

Chinghiz Khan, besides showing trust in his subordinates, was ever ready to acclaim their successes. Sübötai, returned from that astounding campaign of 1221-3, which took him and Jebe (killed in 1222) through Western Persia, over the Caucasus, into Russia, round the Caspian Sea and back to Turkestan, was loudly praised for his victories. "Sübötai," said the conqueror, "has slept on his shield, he has prevailed in bloody battles and exposed himself for our house and we are deeply gratified."¹ Fifteen years before, in 1208, when this now famous soldier was setting out on his first campaign alone, Chinghiz Khan had spoken words of encouragement. "Though you will be far from me it will be the same as if you were near. On your way the sky (heaven) will for certain preserve and help you."

Equally great minded was Chinghiz when his generals were defeated. Having inspected the plain of Biruan, where Chiqi-quutuqu had been soundly beaten by the Khwarazmian Jalal ad-Din,

¹ See Sung Lien, *Yuan Shih*, the biog. of Su-pieh-u-T'ai (Sübötai).

he indulged in no recriminations, but merely criticized the general's choice of battlefield. Then, turning to those about him, he said, "Chiqi-qutuqu has always been accustomed to victory and has never yet experienced fortune's cruelty; now that he has he will be more cautious."

At times he countenanced remarks that might have angered another man. Once Bala Halaja, a privileged commander, asked him: "You are called master of power and a hero; what signs of conquest are there to be seen on your hand?" "Before I assumed the throne of empire," replied Chinghiz Khan, "I was one day riding down a road. Six men, lying in ambush at a bridge (ford), attempted my life. When I drew near I unsheathed my sword and attacked them. They met me with a hail of arrows, but all the arrows missed their mark and not one touched me. I delivered them to death with my sword and rode on unhurt. On my way back I passed the place where I had slain those men; their six horses were roaming riderless. I drove all those horses to my home."

"This, according to Chinghiz Khan, was the 'sign of conquest'. The sky having decreed that he would not meet a chance death, he had killed all his enemies and taken their horses."¹

Even infractions of discipline, usually severely punished, were at times leniently dealt with. In 1220, when Jebe, Sübötai, and Toguchar were dispatched in pursuit of the Khwarazm Shah, all three were enjoined to march through the dominions of Khan Amir-ul-Mulk of Herat without molesting them. Jebe and Sübötai obeyed but Toguchar plundered part of the territory. When he received report of it Chinghiz Khan at first intended to execute the disobedient general, but on second thought only delivered a reprimand and associated another officer with him in his command.

By his trust, gratitude, and ability to master his anger Chinghiz Khan won for himself and his family the unbounded loyalty and devotion of those who served him. Fired with an intense desire to carry out his behests, it was rare that they failed to overcome all and every obstacle. When Muqali's son Boru prepared to attack T'êng Chou, the last Chin stronghold in Shan-Tung, several of his officers wished to postpone the expedition because of the summer heat. Calling them before him Boru remonstrated, "I have never heard that in the west Chinghiz Khan deferred an expedition on

¹ Vladimirtsov, *The Life of Chinghiz Khan*.

account of the hot weather ; how then can we his subjects remain inactive !” The army set out and was soon master of the city.¹

Under such commanders the greatest of whom, with Chinghiz, were Muqali, Jebe, Sübötai, and later Bayan, the Mongols achieved a series of triumphs without parallel. Never before or since has an army won so many battles, taken so many cities, or conquered so many kingdoms. Said a Chinese historian : “ People hide in vain among mountains and caves to escape the Mongol sword, hardly one or two in a hundred saving themselves, while the fields are strewn with the bones of human beings. Since the beginning of time no barbarians have been so powerful as the Mongols are to-day. They destroy kingdoms as one tears up grass. Why does Heaven permit it ! ”²

Not only did the vanquished regard the Mongols as invincible and a visitation from Heaven, but the Mongols believed it themselves. Before the battle of Kuzadagh in Armenia (26th June, 1243), a Georgian officer serving with them apprehensively pointed out that the Seljuq army was much larger than their own. Unperturbed, the commander Baiju answered him : “ You know not the valour of our Mongol people ; God has given us the victory, and we count as nothing the numbers of our enemies ; the more they are the more glorious it is to win and the more plunder we shall secure.”³

On the eve of the invasion of Mesopotamia and Syria (1259) Chinghiz Khan's grandson Khulagu sent an envoy to the Ayubid Sultan al-Nāsir with a message stating the divinely appointed mission of the Mongols, and demanding that all thought of resistance be put aside. The Sultan, however, returned a defiant reply and having mobilized an army reputed to have numbered 100,000 men—doubtless a considerable exaggeration—prepared to fight. But shaken by the sack of Baghdad and the murder of the Khalifa in 1258 his troops became overcome with fear. Instead of marching to relieve Aleppo they successively abandoned to their fate Hama,

¹ *Mêng-wu-érh Shih*, biog. of Po-lu (Boru) of Wu-mu-hu.

² *T'ung-chien Kang-mu*.

³ In this famous battle, which gave them Asia Minor, the Mongols are reported by King Haytho to have numbered 30,000, while Malakia says that the army of the Seljuqs was 150,000. Friar Rubruk gives the Mongols only 10,000, but reduces the Seljuqs to 100,000. The figures for the Seljuq army must be vast exaggerations. (See Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part iii.)

Homs, Baalbek, and Damascus. Reduced by daily desertions the remainder reached El Arish where they sought assistance and protection from the Mamluk government of Egypt. The Sultan himself, being a bitter enemy of the Mamluks, fled to Trans-jordan, where he was eventually captured by the Mongols, who put him to death in 1260.

To-day it is difficult to appreciate the terror inspired by the Mongols. As they approached Damascus on the heels of the retreating Ayubid army, so great was the panic that all who could fly fled, and the demand for camels was such that a single one sold for 700 pieces of silver. Not even after the defeats inflicted upon them by the Mamluks at 'Ain-jalud (3rd September, 1260), and al-Bistan (18th April, 1277), did their prestige wane. Referring to the mercenaries in the service of the Mamluk Sultan Baibars (1260-1277), Makrizi wrote as follows. "Egypt and Syria became filled with Mongols, and their customs spread everywhere. The terror before the name of Chinghiz Khan and his successors was so strong that respect towards the Mongols and fear of them entered into the flesh and blood of the people of Egypt. These Mongols, having adopted Islam, united the dictates of their religion with their own customs. All that was connected with religion was left to the Qādhi al-Qudhāt, but all that concerned the Mongols personally was regulated according to the laws (Yassa) of Chinghiz Khan—for that purpose a special officer was appointed."

In his biography of Genghiz Khan (Chinghiz Khan) Ralf Fox declares that the Mongols owed much of their success to economic rottenness in the Asiatic states opposed to them. The empire of the Chin, he says, was seething with discontent and unrest and it only required the Mongol invasion to bring it to a head. He tells us that once Chinghiz Khan had broken down the first defences of the Chin he was assisted by a widespread rising of peasantry, who called themselves the Red Coats. In actual fact the situation within the empire was not bad. From the conclusion of peace with the Sung in 1165 up to the first decade of the thirteenth century, the dominions of the Chin enjoyed considerable prosperity. During that time there was only one war of importance, a conflict lasting from 1206-7 with the Sung. But after 1210 the country became afflicted with periodic famines which added to the havoc wrought by the Mongols. Not until 1215, after more than four years of continual war and devastation, did the government and the country become sufficiently

weakened for the Red Coats to cut a figure. Then their activities were confined to the province of Shan-Tung.¹

As regards the Empire of Khwarazm it was political dissension in the government rather than its weak agrarian economy that helped Chinghiz Khan in his conquest. Referring to its fall and that of the Chin, Fox says that had the Mongols been opposed to the T'ang and Abbasid dynasties in their hey-day neither eastward nor westward could they have achieved such conquests. While argument on the subject can lead to little beyond speculation it is perhaps worth adding a few words about the armies of these two famous powers.

The T'ang army counted from 440,000 to 600,000 men, 150,000 to 200,000 being stationed at the capital or in the adjoining districts, but though some were Turkish horse archers the majority were infantry who did not use the bow. During the reign of T'ang T'ai-Tsung (627-649) Chinese armies penetrated even Outer Mongolia, but they were fighting a disrupted Turkish Empire. Later, when this was restored by Mo-ch'o (Qapaghan) (691-716), the T'ang suffered several reverses and saw Northern Ho-pei and Shan-hsi fearfully ravaged. Great as Mo-ch'o was he was not a Chinghiz Khan.

The principal standing army of the Abbasids, known as the army of Iraq, numbered 125,000 horse and foot. This was divided into units of 10,000, 1,000, 100, 50, and 10. The equipment of the cavalry consisted of helmet, breast plate, lance, sabre, and battle axe; that of the infantry, who are spoken of as being little better than a rabble, of spear, sword, and shield. Archers are mentioned only as being employed to support the army's naphtha-throwers, so must have been used chiefly at sieges.² Against the troops of the Byzantine Empire the Abbasid army more than held its own, but never did it encounter any large forces of mounted bowmen from Central or Northern Asia.³

¹ For the economic situation in the Chin empire, see Mabel Ping Hua Li, *The Economic History of China*, agrarian conditions and measures under the Chin. For the activities of the Red Coats see the *Chin Shih*.

² See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*.

³ Under the Umayyad Dynasty the Arabs thrice repulsed attempts by the Turks to establish their authority over Transoxiana. In 707 and 712 the armies sent by Mo-ch'o (691-716) seem to have been too small for the undertaking. A more formidable attack came in 731 when the Türgesh Khan Sulu aided a revolt and drove the Arabs over the Amu (Oxus). Not until 738 did the Umayyads defeat him and force his withdrawal. Then, fortunately for them, a rebellion, which

By the time that Chinghiz Khan appeared upon the scene the empire of the T'ang had long fallen and the once vast dominions of the Abbasids had shrunk to little more than Iraq. With this political change there had come an equally great military change. In North China first the Khitan and then the Jürchät or Chin (1113-1234), both of nomad origin, employed mounted bowmen on a scale unknown to the armies of their Chinese predecessors. In the west, throughout the greater part of Asiatic Islam, the Arab troops and peasant levies of former days had been largely replaced by Turkish horse archers. First as mercenaries then as conquerors the Turk had become lord from the Sea of Aral to the Indian Ocean and from the Bay of Bengal to the Mediterranean. Less numerous than the territorial levies of days gone by, these new armies not only saved the state from drawing on the agrarian population for troops but proved far more effective. Inured to war, and able to ride and use the bow as the people of the steppe alone knew how, the Turkish horse archer was the most formidable soldier that the world of Islam had ever seen.

Whatever may have been the prevailing economic conditions within the Asia of Chinghiz Khan's day the fighting material opposed to him was never surpassed. True, the Chin armies did not enjoy the best of generalship, and in the empire of Khwarazm the Shah was unpopular with a large faction of the army which failed to support him to the limit of its ability. Nevertheless the power and military reputation of the Chin stood very high, and the Khwarazm Shah's conquest of Transoxiana from the Qara Khitans, and his overthrow of the Ghurs in Afghanistan, had made him by far the most powerful Moslem potentate in the world. Had it not been for the coming of the Mongols he would surely have gone down in history as one of Islam's mightiest conquerors.

Victorious over the two greatest armies of their day the reputation of the Mongols naturally became extraordinary. Impressed and alarmed by their efficiency first Delhi and then Cairo greatly improved the organization and discipline of their own forces, while Mongol mercenaries were always received as welcome if

resulted in Sulu's death and the break-up of the Türgesh empire, put an end to the possibility of another attack. But on none of these occasions was the invading army to be compared with that of the Mongols. In his final invasion Sulu's army numbered no more than 30,000. See Rene Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, also *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, by H. A. R. Gibb.

dangerous recruits. Though saved from ultimate destruction by the internecine wars that shook the Mongol empire after 1260 these two Moslem governments beat off assaults that would have crushed their predecessors.

Subsequently in both Iran and Transoxiana the descendants of Chinghiz Khan were supplanted by the great Timur, but the army with which he marched from victory to victory was a product of Mongol military genius.

With the progressive development of firearms the bow became obsolete and the Mongol, whose archery and horsemanship had raised him to a pinnacle of military power equalled by no other people in history, passed from the stage of world politics. To the Occident this greatest of conquering armies is still little known, but as exemplars of the principles of war—economy of force, concentration, co-operation, security, mobility, offensive action, and surprise—its campaigns remain unrivalled in east or west. Among the common people of Asia the military feats of Chinghiz Khan are regarded as superhuman. To the Mongols, most of whom now have little idea of the extent of his conquests, he has assumed the proportions of a demi-god. If one speaks of him they will tell you that his triumphs were ordained by heaven.¹ In this they agree with their forbears, but of the mighty army that spread the terror of their name from the Pacific to the Baltic barely a memory remains.

¹ One of the apochryphal stories illustrating this belief is still current in the Ordos country. According to it Chinghiz Khan was once on the verge of defeat in battle with the Chinese when suddenly he received a sword from heaven, and charging upon the enemy won an overwhelming victory. (See Van Oost, *Au Pays des Ortos*.)

Some Early Documents in Persian (II)

By V. MINORSKY

(PLATE I)

(c) PERSIAN DOCUMENTS FROM BĀMIYĀN

IN 1932 my friend Professor P. Pelliot handed to me eleven photographs of the Persian documents discovered at Bāmiyān. The originals must have been brought to Paris by the French Archæological Mission to Afghanistan, but I understood that they were to be returned to Kabul.

Judging by the names mentioned in the text, and by the writing and the general appearance of the documents, they all belong to the same archives, or at least to the same find, and must be dated *circa* 607/1211 (document E), i.e. some ten years before the Mongol invasion. Their origin from Bāmiyān is indirectly confirmed by the mention of this famous valley in letter (A).

In view of the scarcity of early documents in Persian all the letters of the collection merit our attention, but letter (A) is the central piece to which the remaining documents form a background. It is complete, better preserved, and has a definite claim to historical importance. We shall begin with a short description of the collection, so far as the difficult cursive script and the casual contents of the correspondence admit of interpretation. Then we shall give a full translation of letter (A) and check it in the light of the other documents.

Document A, recto and verso, 43×10 cm., on four plates. It is addressed to a dignitary called Shujā' al-dīn by his brother staying at the court of Bāmiyān. Translation and commentary are given below. On Plate I, the French photographs have been arranged in two columns representing recto and verso of the original. The beginning and the end of the document have suffered from damp.

Document B, recto, 28×11 cm., one plate, is a piece of extremely poor penmanship. The Sipahsālār-i ajall-i muḥtaram (?) -i mumakkan Shujā' al-dīn, son (?) of Muhrdār (?) Muḥammad Amīrūya appeals to the notables of Dasht-i Zīnvārī in the following matter: infidels killed Khwāja Ḥusayn (?) Gh.zhdī (عزّدی) and his clothes (*jāma*), etc., were taken away. His heirs (فرته *sic*) were left destitute (*bar*

rāh mānda). After having taken an oath and signed a document they are to receive 16 *kharvārs* of barley. The text ends with Qor'ān, xii, 81, and is signed by three witnesses: 'Ali b. 'Alq (?), Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad 'Omar and 'Ali b. Khwājagī.

Document C, recto and verso, 20 × 10 cm., two plates: a letter addressed by some agent or business man to the Khudāvand-i Ṣadr-i ajall-i mumakkan-i fāḍil-i mun'im-i muḥsin-i mufḍil Zayn (?) al-dīn [Abū Bakr ? see *verso*] Malik al-tujjār. The writer wants to receive (or has sent) certain amounts of metal and coins, namely pure gold (*zar'in* < *zar-i 'ayn*)—2½ dinars; silver—73 dirhams; بری or برن (?)—100 (?) maunds; *jītal*—106 (?)¹ pieces. The writer reports to his Lord (*makhdūm-i jahānīyān*) that he feels lonely (*tanhāsār*), and has no one to look after him (*gham-khwār*). He would like to secure a special delegate (*muḥaṣṣil* or *muḥakkil*); if not, he wishes that instructions be given to Nā'ib [Sarhang] Rashīd al-dīn to take care of him. The writer has spent 20,000 dirhams to buy silver and clipped coins (?).² Let the Sarhang [Rashīd al-dīn ?] take delivery of it as otherwise he is negligent. The letter ends in Arabic *واتمت في اوان معاملات (؟) امين واتم*. The address is inscribed on the verso, the other way round.

The document possibly refers to some operations in view of procuring necessary cash. We should also remember that east of Bāmiyān lay the famous silver mines of Ghorband and Panjshīr (Panjshīr). The transaction with silver may have had some reference to the mines. The mention of Indian coins *jītal* suggests an area on, or off, the high-road to India (Bāmiyān—Chārīkār—Kābul).

Documents D and E, both 14 × 8.5 cm., belong together, the former being only the top of the covering letter to the receipt (E). Its sender Abī Bakr b. Yūnis b. 'Abduh must be the manager of the addressee Khudāvand-i adīb ḥājib-i ajall-i muḥtaram(?)—i mukarram-i mu'addil Amīn al-daula wal-dīn (in E: Amīn al-dīn

¹ *Jītal* (*jaytal* ?) was a copper coin usually taken for one-sixty-fourth of a silver *tanga*. It is mentioned in the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, 603. For the beginning of the fifteenth century see *Masālik al-abṣār*, tr. Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, xiii, p. 212, and M. Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad b. Tughluq*, 1938, p. 237; cf. *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, tr. Quatremère, *Not. et Ext.*, xiv, 363, 449, and 508.

² The natural interpretation of ذة (elsewhere دة) would be **ghalla* "corn", but in this context I prefer the less common meaning "pieces of money rejected by the State but taken by merchants", Lane, p. 2278.

Mihtar Muḥammad). The receipt runs: "I, D.lüb (Dulūf?), [servant of] Maulā Ṣalāḥ al-dīn have issued (this) receipt to certify that by way of revenue (*ḥavāla*) from the treasury-land (*zamān-i yad-i ? māl al-bayt*), I have received from the hands of Amīn al-dīn Mihtar Muḥammad the grain of the land, in conformity with the Shari'at. I have returned the container (*khum*) of the grain. The wheat was 90 minus 1 maunds [i.e. 89]. I have received it and have issued the receipt with the witness of the men who entered their names on the present. Dated 1 Shavvāl 607 [18th March, 1211]." The signatures of the witnesses are: D.m.l-shāh b. س and Muḥammad, known (*yu'raf?*) as "Blood-letter" (*faṣṣād?*), by proxy (*bi-amri-hi*).

Document F, recto, 34 × 10 cm., two plates, incomplete at beginning and end. The letter is a report of a servant of some standing to a Master (*khudāvand*). The writer explains the difficulties he has had in keeping the camel-transport ('*akkāma?*')¹ in a flourishing state (*ābādān*). Someone took (from his charge) 400 pairs of camels (?) which it was impossible to fatten (*ābādān*) at the time, but now fodder (*navāla*) has been prepared. Some enemy suggests that the writer should have written to "the divan of the Lord (*makhdūr*), let his victory be exalted"² [to save the writer from reproaches for the lean camels?]. No one looks after the writer's affairs (*gham namākkhuraḍ*) and he is in great straits ('*aẓīm tang*). He has had 4,700 silver dinars in cash. From the time when the Master (*khudāvand*) fixed the *ṭāy* (or *ṭilla?*)³ at six كحوى the writer delivered to the divan of the Lord 800 كحوى at this rate. The writer was told that "the Lord, let his victory be exalted" ordered all the cash to be sent to him. This much (800 كحوى) was collected. In the presence of all the amīrs and khwājas of the vilayat of Chahrikār (?), M.k.r and S.farghū,⁴ according to the instructions, a receipt (was issued?). . . . The writer is in embarrassment even

¹ The term is unusual in Persian. See Lane, 2122: '*akkām* "one who binds the burden upon the camels . . . one who has the charge of the baggage and tents".'

² I.e. the sovereign king.

³ *Vide infra*, p. 92, note 1. *Y.kjūy*, *b.kjūy*, *n.kjūy?* must be a coin or a measure. Perhaps **yak-javī* "weighing one grain"; though this would be too light for a coin.

⁴ Chahrikār is evidently Chārikār, the well-known town to the south-west of the junction of the Ghorband and Panjshir Rivers. The other two names must be looked for in the same neighbourhood.

with regard to the food (*nān*) of his wife and children. He has no means but to obey the Master, although the latter gives no orders in regard to him. . . . Shujā' al-dīn Abi-Bakr says: "I am a witness." . . .

The palaeographic feature of document (A) is that letters *d*, *r*, and *ṣād* are written with a dot underneath.¹ A similar system is attested in Ibn Muvaffaq's Pharmacopeia transcribed by Asadi in 447/1055, see our first instalment, p. 182. Phonetically curious is the fact that in intervocalic position and at the end of syllables *d* appears instead of the older *ḍ*, the only exception being the word *khud*. As very often, *γ* is confused with *q*: *qāyat* for **γāyat*, *muqram* for **muyram*. The use of *mī-* before the subjunctive is archaic: *tā . . . mī-furūshad* "that he should go on selling". Another peculiarity is the forms *āmadan* (l. 22), *kardan* (l. 24), instead of *āmadand* and *kardand*. The leaving out of the final *d* (after *n*) may be a colloquial habit well known in Eastern Persian (as well as in some western dialects). We need not imagine with Teufel the syntactic use of an Infinitivus historicus in Persian, see *ZDMG.*, 38, p. 248. As expected, document (A) uses *زبان نبستم* and *کی*. Document (B) is remarkable for its bad hand and hopeless spellings: *بهردانتد* for **برده اند*, *بازداده اند* for **بازداده اند*, *سول* for **سوال*, *شهیّد* for *شجید*, *کافر* for **کافر*. The latter form shows that the common pronunciation *kāfār* (attested in rimes, already in *Hāfiz*²) was unknown in the East. The style of (C) is poor but not devoid of pretension. (D) and (E) are written by expert scribes.

We shall now give the text and a full translation of the more important document (A).

والحمد لله رب العالمین
 نعمت برادر شجاع الدین و الدین صارم الاسلام و المسلمین عزیز الملوك
 و السلاطین شرف الکفاة زین الرجال کریم حیان باد و آفریدگار تبارک
 و تعالی ناصر و حافظ و معین صد هزاران خدمت عبودیت عرضه می دارم

¹ As usual *s* appears with three dots under it. [The same practice with regard to *d*, *r*, *s*, and *ṣ* is found in a Tatar will of A.D. 1639, see Veliaminov-Zernov, *The Kings of Kasimov* (in Russian), iii, 241.]

² *Dīnawarī* (d. A.D. 895), p. 360, calls the maces of Abū Muslim's henchmen *kāfar-kūb*.

و اشتیاق بجهال مبارک خداوندی بقایقی (کذا) رسیده است که امکان قلم از شرح دادن عاجز است و اگر صفت [10] کتم خون از سر قلم به چکدواز هزار یکی گفته نیاید و خواندن ملالت افزاید در جمله شب و روز از حضرت باری تعالی با دلی بریان و چشم پر آب یافت خدمت سعادت خداوندی [می] می خواهم باجابت مقرون باد دیگر معلوم فرماید درین وقت رسولی آمد از جانب بای ازان سلطان ~~جلال الدین~~ علی که بامن بسازید و مرا بگذارید تا بشهر آیم در کوشک برادر بنشینم مخدوم عز نصره رسول را باز گردانید اما معلوم نیست تا هیچ حرکت خواهد کرد یا نه [20] و خبرهای خداوند عالم سلطان اسلام متواتر می آید دیگر معلوم فرماید که درین وقت رشید الدین مختار و خواجه اختیار الدین آمدن (کذا) و پیش مخدوم عرضه داشت که مهتر زاده و ابو بکر سرخ قمار کردن (کذا) مهتر زاده از وی ده دینار برد و کریخت و هر چند رعیت می رود نمک نمی دهد و آنچه می دهد از ده طبر پنج از رعیت بازمی گیرد و رعیت را بقیه (کذا) حواله می کند و در امرار نمک بست هیچ کس را نمی دهد و اختیار پیش جمله خواجکان چنین گفت که اگر صد بار مخدوم [30] چیزی نویسد ابو بکر سرخ بامیان نیاید و تمامت آن خداوند را یاقی (کذا) ساخته اند هر کس پیش مخدوم چیزی دیگر می گوید اگر بنده اینجا نبودی مخدوم عز نصره باور می کردی که یاقی شده است آخر ای سیجان الله العظیم صد کرت نبشتم که چنان سازد که این هر دو عوان آنجا آمده اند چنان سازد که خشنود باشند صد هزار دشمن حاصل کرده است و مخدوم را هیچ خدمتی نکنند که خشنود باشد بیرون از خداوند صد هزار کس را مخدوم بولایتها [40] فرستاده است و عملها فرموده هر هفت آنجا می باشند آن خداوند چون نمک آبه می رسد جمله جهان فراموش می کند و نام یاقی بر خود می نهد عاقبت اب روی ما در سر نمک آبه خواهد شد ناکاه کافر یا مسلمان آنجا زبر قلعه آید و آنجا نتواند آمد خود را در بلا اندازد باید که کسی را نسب (کذا) کند تا نمک می فروشد و خود

و تا مندا احد بود و با من با احد بود
ه کین من شخردم بهر کین و کین و کین
لا یلودن کین و کین و کین و کین
با من شد لب اهراسی علی الله اعظم
حد کین و کین و کین و کین و کین
40 هوان ایجا ابد ایچن سار کین و کین
بهمنه جد و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج حد و کین و کین و کین و کین
ایچن و کین و کین و کین و کین
40 ه هسان و کین و کین و کین و کین
و یا شند ایچن و کین و کین و کین
حد و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
45 ایچن و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
50 ایچن و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
55 ایچن و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
60 ایچن و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین

و تا مندا احد بود و با من با احد بود
ه کین من شخردم بهر کین و کین و کین
لا یلودن کین و کین و کین و کین
با من شد لب اهراسی علی الله اعظم
حد کین و کین و کین و کین و کین
40 هوان ایجا ابد ایچن سار کین و کین
بهمنه جد و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج حد و کین و کین و کین و کین
ایچن و کین و کین و کین و کین
40 ه هسان و کین و کین و کین و کین
و یا شند ایچن و کین و کین و کین
حد و کین و کین و کین و کین
ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین
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ه هج و کین و کین و کین و کین

بیاید مخدوم را بیند صد هزار کس در عالم بیش است هیچ کس نمک
 ابه ندارد جمله را خدای روزی می دهد [50] داتم که آن برادر را
 هم بدهد هر چند بنده مخدوم را خدمت بیش می کند و او را خوش
 دل می کرداند دشمنی از نمک ابه سختی می گوید جمله باطل می
 شود و آن خداوند بنمک آبه وزن نمک ابی [چنان] چنان مقرر
 (کذا) شده است که از دشمن و مخدوم فراموش کرده است اگر چه
 هرگز مباد می دانم که ناکه این بنده را یا آن خداوند را واقعه خواهد
 بود که یک دیگر را نتوانیم دید اما جهد می کنم مگر خدای این
 روزی نکند بنده جهد می کرد از راه دور اما چون
 خدای چنین می خوا [60] هد تا یک دیگر را فراغ (کذا) نمایم
 چتوان کرد زینهار تا بنوشته با احتیاط باشد از جانب من و از دیگر
 قبوض رشید الدین مخدوم در ملتفه کاغذ است که برای خدمت
 گزاردام (کذا) بفرستد که طلب می دارند
 [در حاشیه] زینهار که زندنجی قبا من این که خانه بود بفرستد کلاه
 بفرستد که برهنه شده ام

[Line 1]. "Praise to Whom it belongs!

"Let every happiness which Heaven has in store be bestowed on the Master (*khudāvand*) and Benefactor (*valī-ni'mat* ?), (my ?) brother Shujā' al-dunyā wal-dīn Šārim al-Islām wal-Muslimīn, the intimate of Kings and Sultans, the Honoured one among the competent, the Adornment of men, the Beloved (*karīm*) of the whole World. And let the Creator—may He be blessed and exalted—be his helper, guardian, and assistant. I submit to him hundreds of thousands of obedient services. The longing for the sight of the blessed beauty of My Master has reached such a stage (*qāyatī* < **ghāyatī*) that the possibilities of the pen to express it are inadequate. If I try to describe it, [L. 10] blood will drip from the pen, and yet one-thousandth part of it will not be said and the reading of it will only cause annoyance. Daily and nightly, with heart roasted ¹ and with eyes full of tears I pray to the Almighty to (let me) reach (*yāft*) the service of happiness with My Master. Let (my prayer) receive its fulfilment.

"And also (*dīgar*) let him be informed that recently an envoy

¹ *scil.* "on the fire of separation".

has arrived from Bāy Uzān (of ?) Sultān [*Jalāl al-dīn*—cancelled] ‘Alī (?) saying: ‘Come to an agreement with me and let me come to the town and abide in the castle of the brother.’ [Our] Lord (*makhdūm*), may God exalt his victory, sent the envoy back and it is not known whether (the Sultān ?) will take any steps or not. [l. 20] Reports of the Master of the World the Sultān of Islām arrive incessantly.

“And also let him be informed that recently Rashīd al-dīn Mukhtār and Khwāja Ikhtiyār al-dīn came (*āmadan* [*sic*]) and submitted to the Lord that Mihtar-zāde and Abū-Bakr Surkh gambled (*qumār kardan* [*sic*]) and Mihtar-zāda won from him 10 dinars and (he) ran away, and although the peasants (*ra‘iyat*) go (to him) he does not give salt (to them), and what he gives he takes back from the *ra‘iyat* five out of each ten *tāy* (*tilla* ?).¹ He taxes (*havāla*) the peasants excessively. He has closed the doors of the store (*anbār*) of salt and does not admit anyone. Ikhtiyār (al-dīn) spoke before all the khwājas that should (our) Lord write one hundred times [l. 30] Abū-Bakr Surkh will not come to Bāmiyān.

“And they all represent the Master (*ān khodāvand*) as a rebel (*yāqī* < **yāghī*) and every one says something different to the Lord. Were I not here, [our] Lord, may his victory be exalted, would believe that (my Master) has become a rebel. Finally, glory to God the Exalted, I have written one hundred times that both of these oppressors (*‘ivān*) have arrived at that (this ?) place, (so) let (the Master) arrange that he (they ?) be contented. He has created 100,000 enemies and does not render any services to [our] Lord to content him. Besides my Master, (our) Lord has sent 100,000 men to the provinces and [l. 40] has made appointments (*‘amal-hā farmūda*). There they are in all readiness (*har haft mī-bāshand*).² When my Master reaches the saline (*namak-āba*)³ he forgets the whole world and thus gets the name of rebel attached to himself. In the end our honour (*ābrūy*)³ will be gone, over (that) saline (*namak-āba*). Suddenly Unbelievers (*kāfir*) or Muslims (?) may set upon the fortress and (he) will not be able to come there (here ?) and (he) will fall prey to calamities. He should

¹ The reading of the word is uncertain. Possibly it is *tāy* which is found in document F, lines 11, 12, and 13, with the meaning of some kind of coin or measure. It is curious that in document (A) three dots appear under the final stroke. One might read *tās* “a basin” (taken as a measure) or *tilla* “a gold coin” (worth 14-35 roubles in 1832, see Khanikov, *Opis. Bukhar. khanstva*, p. 114), but these two readings are not quite satisfactory from the palaeographic point of view.

² The writer accuses Shujā’ al-dīn of unreadiness and compares him with his colleagues. *Har haft* means “all the seven adornments of the bride” (before the wedding).

³ With a possible pun on *āb*.

appoint (*nasb* < **našb*) someone to sell salt (*tā* . . . *māfurūshad*) and himself come to see (our) Lord. There are more than 100,000 men in the world who have no salines, and God gives them subsistence (*rūzi*). [l. 50] (So far) I understand (*dānam*), He will not refuse it to my (*ān*) brother either. How ever much I serve (our) Lord and (try to) make him of good heart, the enemy says hard things about the saline and everything is undone. (Meanwhile) my Master has become so besotted with the saline and the salt-water woman (*zan-i namak-ābī*)¹ that he has forgotten all about the enemies and (our) Lord. Although—(may it never happen!)—I know that death may suddenly strike this slave or that Master, and we shall not see each other, yet I strongly hope (lit. 'endeavour') that perhaps God will not ordain so (*in rūzi* **nakunad*). I was endeavouring that faults (?) should be removed from the path.² But if God wills [l. 60] that we part (*firagh* < **firaq*) what can be done? Mind, be careful with writings, both on my behalf and on behalf of the others (?).

"The receipts of our Lord's Rashīd al-dīn³ are enclosed (*dar-multaḡḡa*?) in the letter, that is to say I have enclosed them to oblige. Let the Master send them to be presented for recovery."

(In the margin): "Mind, send (me) my *zandaniji* qabā, the one (*in-kī*) was at home. Send (also) a hat for I have become stripped bare."

The addressee of the letter bears the title of *Shujā' al-dunyā wal-dīn* "Hero of the World and Faith", which points to his military rank. His second title *Ṣārim al-Islām wal-muslimīn* "Sword of Islam and Muslims" suggests that his warlike activities were carried on for the glory of Islam, perhaps among some infidels.⁴ The remaining honorifics indicate some such rank as *vazīr*, or administrator of finance (?). He was the owner or grantee of some

¹ Does the writer mean that the addressee has fallen in love with the saline "as if it were a woman", or is it some additional hint at some love affair? *Namaki* (but not *namak-ābī*) is the usual Persian term for "coquettish".

² *Banda jahd mī-kard? az rāh dūr?* The meaning is clear but two words are doubtful. Immediately after *kard* one might distinguish *yraq* (for *q*, cf. line 7). Vullers, ii, 1514, quotes Turkish *yaraq* "peccatum, crimen", which perhaps should be restored **yazuq*. The meaning suits our text and in the thirteenth century there were numerous Turks in the region of Hindukush, see Minorsky, "The Khalaj" in the *BSOS.*, x/2, 1940, p. 431, but as there are no other Turkish elements in our texts I hesitate to endorse the reading. A suitable verb would be *uftad* (perhaps *uftad*), but the dots of *t* do not appear on the photograph; *avarad* is unlikely.

³ Or, perhaps, "Rashīd's receipts to the Lord"? It is also possible that the receipts are sent "on behalf of myself and the others".

⁴ Some danger from *kāfirs* is referred to in line 44. Cf. also document B.

salt exploitation (*namak-āba*) which in the opinion of his correspondent was absorbing too much of his time and attention. The complaint against the behaviour of some subaltern agent who mismanaged the store of salt, etc., suggests that the production of salt was combined with a monopoly.

The correspondent calls Shujā' al-dunyā "brother" which we have to take literally for the postscript about a *qabā* left at home has a touch of personal intimacy. Nevertheless, the writer is a person of no great rank and is employed as an informer at the court of a Prince. His penmanship is not of high class, but he is shrewd and not lacking in humour. The stuff of his *qabā* does not convey an idea of great prosperity for *zandaniḡī* fabricated at Zandana near Bukhara was a common material.¹ The hint at the "final separation" indicates perhaps that the correspondents were getting on in years.

The Prince at whose court the writer temporarily sojourned is called Lord (*makhdūm* "the one to be served") with addition of the formula 'azza *naşruhu* pointing to his gallantry. He was a ruler in his right for he made appointments and sent forces to "provinces", although their number ("100,000") is a mere hyperbole which recurs in the letter at least four times ("100,000 services", "100,000 enemies", etc.). From what we hear about the Prince's alleged inability to summon some disobedient servant to *Bāmiyān* we have to infer that the Prince's residence was at that place.

The Prince had a brother who was negotiating for his admittance to the residence and whose attitude was apparently fraught with threat. The envoy who visited *Bāmiyān* seems to have been sent by a Bāy Uzān (?). The bearer of this Turkish name must have been an agent, or governor on behalf of the Prince's brother. As the text stands we have to read it with an *idāfat* "an envoy from Bāy Uzān (of) Sultān 'Alī'".² One detail is noteworthy: the title "Jalāl al-dīn" inscribed between the words "Sultān" and "'Alī" has been cancelled in the text! How could a professional courtier have made a mistake in such an important detail? Should we suppose that the name of some other Sultān Jalāl al-dīn was on the tip of his tongue³ or that, as an afterthought, he decided to

¹ See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 227.

² Cf. also line 62: Rashīd al-dīn-i Makhdūm, this *idāfat* expressing the relation of a servant to a master, and not, as usual, of a son to a father.

³ Such as Sultān Jalāl al-dīn Mangburni whom his father the Khwārazmshāh Alā al-dīn appointed governor of Ghaznī in 612/1215.

cut down some to the titulature of Sultān 'Alī? The latter seems more probable, in view of what we shall proceed to explain.

From the fact that the brother of the writer's "Lord" bore the title "Sultān" we should infer that the "Lord" too was a Sultān, but, apart from these two princes, the letter clearly refers to a third paramount chief who is styled "Master of the World and Sultān of Islām" and who, at least at the time, was not in Bāmiyān.

The other *dramatis personæ* of the letter are Rashīd al-dīn Mukhtār and Khwāja Ikhtiyār al-dīn who further down are referred to disdainfully as 'ivān "henchmen", or even "oppressors". One feels that there was no love lost between them and the addressee. The writer recommends Shujā' al-dīn to conciliate them and in the meantime encloses some receipts of Rashīd al-dīn quite clearly to be used as a means of pressure on him.

The remaining two names are those of subaltern agents Mihtar-zāda and Abū-Bakr Surkh. The latter was concerned with the salt-monopoly and must have stood in close relation to Shujā' al-dīn. We can guess that Abū-Bakr's misdemeanour was exploited in order to compromise Shujā' al-dīn and to accuse him of rebellion.

The other documents may be connected with the letter (A). It is quite possible that Sipahsālār-i ajall Shujā' al-dīn . . . son (?) of Muḥammad Amīrūya of document (B) is identical with the addressee of (A). In this second document Shujā' al-dīn appeals to witnesses on behalf of the heirs of a man killed by Infidels (*kāfir*). This intercession favours the idea that Shujā' al-dīn may have merited his second title of "Sword of Islam" by fighting such Infidels.

Document (C) is addressed to the exalted Ṣadr Zayn al-dīn Abū Bakr who is also called Malik al-tujjār. It does not look as if this Ṣadr were identical with Abū-Bakr Surkh who gambled away 10 dīnārs to Mihtar-zāda, unless he was a kind of Dr. Jekyll. It is possible, however, that the writer of letter (C), belonging as he did to a much lower class, poured out on to the head of his addressee a spate of irresponsible honorifics. On the other hand, the writer of the intimate letter (A) may have intentionally slighted the "exalted Ṣadr" by calling him "the Red Abū Bakr". The latter must have been a man of a certain rank to challenge the Prince's orders. The writer of letter (C) twice and with some slight reproach refers to a Nā'ib Rashīd al-dīn Maḥmūd (*sic*), who may

have been one of the two "henchmen" who were intriguing in Bāmiyān against Shujā' al-dīn. In this case we should take Maḥmūd for his personal name, and in letter (A) read Rashīd al-dīn-i Mukhtār ("R., son of M.").

Documents (D) and (E) both refer to the same Ḥājib Amīn al-dīn Mihtar Muḥammad. The paper of both is of the same size and it is probable that (D) is only an endorsement on (E). The title "Mihtar" may point to a hereditary distinction and, if so, the Ḥājib could have been related to the Mihtar-zāda, the happy winner of 10 dinars (Document A).

As our documents seem to form one single lot the date of (E), namely 11th March, 1211, is of great importance for the final explanation of the historical background.

There remains no doubt that the letter (A) characterizes the situation at Bāmiyān under the local branch of the Shansabānī princes of Ghūr. Minhāj-i Sirāj, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, was the contemporary and a close witness of the events. In 591/1195 his father was appointed qāḍī of Bāmiyān and Minhāj spent all his youth in Bāmiyān, Firōz-kōh, and other places of Ghūr. His book is a mine of precious information on that region, but as he was writing in India towards A.D. 1259-1260 his chronology is not quite reliable.¹

There were three branches of the Ghūr family, those of Firōz-kōh (*Ṭabaqāt*, section xvii), Bāmiyān (section xviii), and Ghaznī (section xix). The famous 'Ala al-dīn Jahān-sōz (d. 556/1161) conquered Bāmiyān and gave it to his elder brother Fakhr al-dīn Mas'ūd. The possessions of the Bāmiyān branch comprised a large tract including Tokharistān, Badakhshān, and even some territories to the north of the Oxus. After the death of Sulṭān Mu'izz al-dīn of Ghaznī (602/1206) his Ghūrī amīrs invited Sulṭān Bahā al-dīn of Bāmiyān to occupy their master's fief, but Bahā al-dīn died on his way to Ghaznī. He left two sons, the elder Sulṭān 'Alā al-dīn Muḥammad and the younger Sulṭān Jalāl al-dīn 'Alī. They both proceeded to Ghaznī: the treasury was divided up by the brothers, after which Muḥammad stayed in Ghaznī, and 'Alī returned to his paternal fief. Soon, however, the Turkish amir Tāj al-dīn Yalduz entered Ghaznī. Sultan 'Alī, who was a good warrior, came to his brother's rescue and re-established him on the throne. A second time Yalduz revolted and this time the two brothers fell into his

¹ Cf. Raverty, 257.

hands. Yalduz made a pact with them and allowed them to repair to Bāmiyān. Here the brothers quarrelled and Sultān Muḥammad went to Khwārazm to seek the help and protection of the Khwārazm-shāh 'Alā al-dīn, then at the zenith of his power. The Khwārazm-shāh marched suddenly into Bāmiyān and put an end to Sultān 'Alī's rule. Minhāj¹ first says that Sultān 'Alī was put to death and then that he died. It must be added that during the captivity of the two brothers at Ghaznī their uncle 'Alā al-dīn Mas'ūd seized Bāmiyān. On his return Sultān 'Alī did away with his uncle and had his vazir Šāhib flayed alive. Minhāj speaks with great praise of the "lion-hearted" Sultān 'Alī, but is significantly silent about the character of his brother.

The chronology of these events is still obscure. According to Minhāj, Sultān 'Alī's rule lasted seven years, and the numismatists, who apparently start from the death of Bahā al-dīn, fix it between 602/1206 and 609/1213.² However, Minhāj, pp. 266-7, definitely says that the raid on Bāmiyān happened after the Khwārazm-shāh's famous campaign in 'Irāq which took place only in 614/1217, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 470. In this case Sultān 'Alī must have reigned between \pm 607/1210 and 614/1217.³ These years may fit better into the frame of our documents.

The "Lord" of the writer must have been Sultān 'Alā al-dīn Muḥammad, and we have to understand that as the elder brother he was in the occupation of the Government "castle",⁴ into which Sultān Jalāl al-dīn 'Alī was seeking admittance. One clearly feels that we are on the eve of a conflict and that Bāmiyān is expecting the further steps of the energetic Sultān 'Alī who is about to expel his co-regent and begin his independent rule. Some flaws in the administration and the symptoms of disobedience are the shadows cast before them by the coming events. This is the reason why the writer of the letter decided to cross out the title of the rival prince.

Then the "Sultān of Islām" from whom "reports arrive

¹ Calcutta, 1864, pp. 110, 131; Raverty's transl. 434, 496.

² Thus according to Lane-Poole. Zambaur gives A.H. 602-9.

³ On the other hand Minhāj mentions the end of Sultān 'Alī before he speaks of the occupation of Ghaznī by the Khwārazm-shāh in 612/1215. Minhāj adds that as the Khwārazm-shāh was returning from 'Irāq he turned off to Bāmiyān from the River *J.zār* (or *J.vār*). This mutilated name may be identical with *J.zūrān* which Raverty, 258, quotes on the road from Balkh to Herat. The name should be possibly restored as **Gurzivān* in Güzgān, see *Hudūd al-'ālam*, p. 335.

⁴ *Kūshk* is the usual equivalent of Arabic *qaṣr*, see *Hudūd al-'ālam*, p. 105.

incessantly" can be no other than the Khwārazm-shāh with whom the "Lord" is about to seek refuge.¹

No direct historical evidence could be found relating to the addressee Shujā al-dunyā wal-dīn, but there are grounds for believing that he may be identical with the sipahsālār Shujā' al-dīn mentioned in document (B). The title sipahsālār was well known in Ghūr. The leaders of the Ghōrid amirs in Ghaznī who in A.D. 1206 were sponsoring the candidature of the two Bāmiyān brothers, were the sipahsālārs Sulaymān Shīth and *Kharūshī² who at a later date seem to have been expelled by the Turks. Shujā' al-dīn may have been one of their colleagues. We have already mentioned his titles hinting at his activity against some infidels. There would be nothing astonishing if, even after A.D. 1206, there existed some pockets of heathendom in the remote corners of Ghūr, but it is more probable that the allusions contained in Shujā' al-dīn's honorifics and the direct reference to *kāfirs* in documents (A) and (B) have in view the Qarā-Khitāy. These remnants of the Liao rulers of China succeeded in founding a second kingdom at Balasaghun (near the Issiq-kul lake) and were victorious in their wars against the Muslim Qarā-khānids of Samarqand, the Seljuks of Khorasan, and the Khwārazm-shāhs.³ Minhāj-i Sirāj, 329 (Raverty, 926), affirms that only the kings of Ghūr and Bāmiyān succeeded in retaining their independence: "once or twice the army of the kings of Ghūr, the champions of which were the sipahsālārs *Kh.rj.m* (?) and Muḥammad *Kh.r.nk*, put to flight the army of Khitā and Sipahsālār *Kh.rj.m* had attained martyrdom." Nevertheless Minhāj admits that the Qarā-Khitāy invaded Ghūr for, in his words, "the last time" they crossed the Oxus was when they were opposed by Mu'izz al-dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī. The latter died A.D. 1206, and, following the sequence of the passages, the expedition of the two sipahsālārs took place at an earlier date.

¹ The king of Ghazna Shihāb al-dīn Ghōrī was also called *Sultān-i Islām*, see Barthold, op. cit., 351, but after his death (in A.D. 1206) no one of the family appears to have merited this appellation.

² The reading of the peculiar Ghōrī names is still obscure. Raverty, 433, reads the second name Kharoshti, but the text, 109, has a variant **Kh.rūsh* which also appears in I. Athīr, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 345. The name may be derived from the principal residence of Ghūr which Abul-Faḍl Bayhaqi, ed. Morley, 130, spells J.rūs (**Kh.rūsh*?). But even this is uncertain for Minhāj, 33-4 (Raverty, 306, 308, 311) spells out the name of an ancient residence *Mandēsh* of which the other forms may be mere misspellings.

³ See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 323 sqq.

We have no ground for identifying Shujā' al-dīn with any of the sipahsālārs mentioned, but the texts give a background to his honorifics. Khwāja Ḥusayn (?) Gh.zhdī (?), on behalf of whose heirs the document (B) was issued, may have been killed by the kāfirs while he was under the sipahsālār's command.

In spite of the inevitable obscurities, the importance of the documents from Bāmiyān is considerable. Taken together they give us a glimpse of everyday life in a Hindukush valley seven centuries ago. We feel the throb of an existence threatened by insecurity. The princes were quarrelsome, disunited, and ready to invoke help from without. Their amirs were intriguing and exploiting the opportunities of their charges; their servants were courting their masters' favours, gambling and oppressing the common folk. Trade fumbled among obscure deals and only land was harnessed fast to the yoke of ancient law. Meanwhile, in distant Mongolia a tidal wave was gathering momentum for the sweep which was to break through all the dykes, wash away all traces of medieval disunion, and replace them by the barbarous but inexorable *Pax Mongolica*.

I dedicate this article to Prof. Paul Pelliot as a token of friendship and admiration.

Lakshmibai Rani of Jhansi

By C. A. KINCAID

I HAVE no space to relate the early history of Jhansi. Before her marriage, the Rani's name was Manubai Tambe. Her father, Moropant Tambe, was a Karhad Brahman from Wai in the Satara district. He obtained employment with the last Peshwa Bajirao II, and through his influence married his daughter to Gangadharrao Newalkar, the Raja of Jhansi, who was of the same caste as himself. According to Indian custom, Manubai thereafter changed her first name to Lakshmibai.

In 1851, Lakshmibai bore her husband a son, who died in infancy. On the day before his own death the Raja adopted a son Damodarrao. This adoption the viceroy, Lord Dalhousie, refused to sanction, but settled on the queen a pension of 5,000 rupees a month, which she refused, living on her deceased husband's private estate.¹ She made numerous petitions to the Board of Directors and the British Parliament without result. In the meantime the Company's troops occupied the Jhansi territories without resistance.

On the 10th May, 1857, the Indian troops at Meerut mutinied. The mutiny was not checked, and the revolt spread through northern India. The Raja's little army had been disbanded, and Jhansi was garrisoned by a detachment of Indian foot artillery, the left wing of the 12th regiment of native infantry and the right wing of the 14th Irregular cavalry. Captain Gordon, the deputy commissioner, was the chief civil authority, and Captain Dunlop was in command of the troops. On 5th June, the entire garrison mutinied, shot Captain Dunlop and several other officers. Captain Gordon and Captain Skene, the police superintendent, took the English and Eurasians some fifty-five in all, from the city to the fort, which they garrisoned with Skene's police. They were soon afterwards attacked by the mutineers. They defended themselves gallantly, but there seemed so little hope of relief, that on the 7th June three Englishmen, Andrews, Scott, and Purcell, left the fort to invoke the Rani's protection; but the mutineers intercepted and killed them. The assailants renewed the attack, and a stray cannon shot struck Captain Gordon. He had been the leading spirit of the defence, and on his death the Indian police and servants began to

¹ Rao Bahadur Parasnis' *Maharani Lakshmibai hyanchen charitra*, p. 121.

change sides. Two Eurasians offered to take letters to Norgad and Gwalior, but they were caught and killed. On the other hand, the mutineers had lost heavily and wished to be free to march to Delhi. They sent messengers under a flag of truce, offering the garrison a safe conduct. Captain Skene, on behalf of the besieged, accepted the terms. The gates of the fort were opened and the defenders walked out. The Europeans and Eurasians were seized, bound, and taken to the Joka Bagh, where men, women, and children were alike massacred.

The Sepoys then sent word to Lakshmibai that they wanted three lakhs of rupees. The queen replied that she had been deposed and had no money. The Sepoys retorted that if she did not pay they would burn down her palace and put her cousin Sadashivrao on the throne of Jhansi. Eventually she gave them jewellery worth one lakh. They took this, plundered the cantonment, and left.

Lakshmibai was now in a most difficult position. The English officials had been killed and there was nobody to take their place. She did the only thing she could. With the help of her Brahman relatives, she assumed the administration herself, and sent word to the commissioner of Jabalpur and other Englishmen in authority that she was only holding Jhansi for their government.¹

Her first trouble came from her cousin Sadashivrao. He seized the fort of Karrara and took the title of Raja of Jhansi. The Rani levied troops, stormed Karrara, and shut up her rival in Jhansi fort. A more formidable enemy was the Rana of Orcha. He sent twenty thousand men to conquer Jhansi, but the queen with a hastily raised force completely defeated him. She sent a letter to Colonel Hamilton, the agent to the governor-general, informing him of her victory, but her letter was intercepted by the Orcha Bandelas, who were trying to persuade him that the queen was a rebel, and that they had invaded Jhansi in the British interest.

After the defeat of her rivals, Lakshmibai devoted herself to the management of the state. Her chief minister was Lakshmanrao Bande; but the queen was an educated woman, and often passed written orders herself. She was an excellent and tireless rider, and daily settled boundary and similar disputes on the spot. She collected the revenues, managing them with thrift and prudence.

¹ Pinkney's report and a letter from Martin, quoted by Parasnian (p. 235):

* "She sent khareetas to Colonel Erskine at Jabalpur and Colonel Fraser at Agra, which I gave with my own hand."

She chose her troopers' mounts herself, as she was deemed one of the best judges of a horse in India ; and she always hoped that because of her able administration the viceroy would in the end raise her adopted son to the throne.

The hopes of the queen were soon shattered. Early in January, 1858, Sir Hugh Rose relieved Sagar, and on 20th March appeared before Jhansi. The queen wished to send a deputation to him to state her case. Unfortunately, the more violent of the men round her had got the upper hand, and insisted that in their then temper the English would not listen to explanations, and that they might as well die fighting. They overruled the queen's orders, and would not let her messengers go to Sir Hugh Rose, forcing her to call on Nana Sahib, then camped beyond the Betwa with a large army, to send a force to her relief. Nana Sahib, who had assumed the title of Peshwa, at once sent twenty thousand men under Tantia Topi to her aid ; but although Sir Hugh Rose could only oppose to them fifteen hundred men, the mutineers fought so badly that they were driven back. The assault on Jhansi was then made with such vigour that Lakshmibai slipped out of the fort on the night of 4th April. With her stepson on her lap, and escorted by some three hundred troopers, she reached Kalpi, where she joined the Peshwa. The following day Jhansi fell, and Sir Hugh Rose was free to follow the queen. On 22nd May Kalpi was taken after a severe action in which the Rani dressed as a trooper fought gallantly. As the rains had begun to threaten, Sir Hugh Rose decided to distribute during the monsoon his troops between Gwalior and Jhansi. Suddenly he heard the news that the rebels had taken Gwalior with all its stores and guns. This move of the Peshwa had been suggested by the queen, whom Tantia Topi, who knew Gwalior well, had supported.

On the advance of Nana's army the entire Gwalior contingent and a large part of Sindia's levies had mutinied. With the remaining eight thousand men the Maharaja moved gallantly to attack the rebels. His artillery was well served, and it would have dispersed the Peshwa's infantry had not Lakshmibai charged with her own sowars on the flank of Sindia's guns, sabred the gunners, and allowed the rebel foot to rally. The Maharaja's force was scattered, and he himself fled to Agra. Gwalior fort with its stores, its treasure, and its army fell to the Peshwa and the queen. Lakshmibai begged him to distribute the Gwalior treasure among his troops, to appoint

Maratha officers in place of the English, and to arrange that the troops should be paid regularly thereafter. The Peshwa, however, had, like his adoptive father Bajirao II, a strong religious strain, and he squandered the plunder in feeding Brahmans, who naturally flocked to Gwalior. The discontented soldiers began to desert in great numbers; while those who remained, unpaid and without officers, became daily more demoralized.

Sir Hugh Rose, on learning the fall of Gwalior, marched straight on the fortress. On 16th June he reached Morar cantonment, five miles from it, where the rebel army was strongly entrenched. About the same time General Smith attacked the troops commanded by the Rani east of Gwalior. Here the resistance offered by the rebels was far more resolute. At last a squadron of the 8th Hussars broke through the rebel line, and in the fighting the queen, dressed as a trooper, received fatal wounds. She fell from her horse and lay on the field until evening, when her attendants recovered her body and burnt it with all due ceremony.

So died Lakshmibai Rani of Jhansi. Born in November, 1835, and killed in June, 1858, she was not quite twenty-three when she fell. She has been severely treated by English historians, who have called her murderess and rebel and mutineer. But my honoured friend the late Rao Bahadur Parasnis has in his Marathi biography of the queen insisted that she had nothing to do with the massacre of the English.

The English historians have ascribed to her a desire for revenge, because her adoptive son had not been recognized as Raja of Jhansi. Still the queen was not a savage, but an educated member of an extremely intelligent community, namely the Deccan Brahmans. She knew quite well that the English officers at Jhansi and their wives and children had nothing to do with Dalhousie's decision. There was no reason why she would want to murder them; her interests lay in the opposite direction. The Maratha confederacy was dead. If the Moghul empire were restored, the Rajputs of Central India would soon combine to drive a foreigner from their midst. Her only hope lay in the renascence of the British power. If she could win their favour by holding the state for them she might possibly regain the crown of Jhansi. Dalhousie had gone, and Lord Canning might prove more clement and reasonable.

Beside the alleged motive the only evidence against the queen is some hearsay evidence in Pinkney's report. As against this

doubtful testimony Mr. Parasnis has quoted a letter written on the 20th April, 1889, to Damodarrao, the Rani's adopted son. The writer was a Mr. Martin. He was still alive when Mr. Parasnis's book was published. He somehow escaped from the massacre, and with another Englishman and an English lady was hidden by the queen in her palace and saved. This is what he wrote to Damodarrao :—

“Your poor mother was very unjustly and cruelly dealt with, and no one knows her true case as I do. The poor thing took no part whatever in the massacre of the European residents of Jhansi in June, 1857. On the contrary, she supplied them with food for two days after they had gone into the fort—got a hundred match-lock men from Karrara and sent them to assist us, but after being kept a day in the fort they were sent away in the evening. She then advised Major Skene and Captain Gordon to fly at once to Dattia and place themselves under the protection of the Raja, but even this they would not do ; and finally they were all massacred by our own troops, the police, and the jail establishments.”

This letter seems to me to dispose of the charge that she was a murderess. Was she a mutineer ? No ; because she was not either in the army or the navy. Was she a rebel ? This is a more difficult question to answer. Lakshmibai was born at Benares, and was a subject of the Maharaja of Benares.¹ She became by marriage a subject of the Raja of Jhansi. Unless by losing her throne she became a British subject, she cannot be called a rebel. I prefer to think of her as a young and gallant lady, who, forced by events beyond her control, joined the Nana Sahib and fell on the field of honour, fighting for a lost cause. Others similarly unfortunate have yet received their meed of praise, but she gained nothing but hatred and obloquy. Still the great soldier, who defeated her and her allies penned an epitaph, that she would not have disdained. Sir Hugh Rose wrote in his general orders after her death, “The best man on the side of the enemy was the Rani of Jhansi.”²

Praise from a hostile commander is praise indeed.

¹ At the time of Lakshmibai's birth her father was in the service of Amritrao, the adoptive brother of Bajirao II. Amritrao lived until his death in Benares.

² Quoted by Justin Macarthy in a *History of Our Own Times*, p. 111.

Prāṇa-citi

By A. K. COOMARASWAMY

A V., x, 2, 8 c, d, and 26 c, d, taken together, read: *Citvā cityam hanvoḥ puruṣasya divaṁ ruropa katamaḥ sa devaḥ? Atharvā . . . mastiškād ūrdhvaḥ prerayat pavamāno'dhi śiṛsatas*, literally, "Who is that God who, having piled a piling in the Person's jaws, ascends to the sky? Atharvan . . . the Purifier, sent (them) forth upward from the brain, from the head." What is "piled" and what "sent forth"?

Whitney, as usual, evades the problem, which he dismisses with the words "extremely obscure". The sense, however, can be made clear if we investigate the well-known "Internal Agnihotra". To "pile" (*ci*) implies a sacrificial operation in which an altar is "piled" either in literal fact or mentally. Sacrifice is always ultimately of the powers of the soul, the "breaths" (*prāṇāḥ*) of which the outer man is composite—"The breaths, in very sooth, my King, are man's coming together to be" (*prāṇā u ha vāva, rājan, manuṣyasya sambhūtiḥ*, JUB., iv, 7, 4). "The (immanent) deities are the 'breaths', mind-born and mind-yoked (*manoyujāḥ*); in them one sacrifices metaphysically" (TS., vi, 1, 4, 5, "an idea not rare," Keith): "Gathering up (*uddhṛtya*) these 'breaths', one sacrifices them in the Fire" (MU., vi, 26).

It is, then, of these "breaths", the psychic powers of thinking, vision, hearing, etc., that a piling can be piled, and we shall find that this piling is to be done "in the jaws", i.e. in the mouth. Let us see how such a piling is performed, in the first place ritually, and in the second place mentally.¹ The ritual piling is described in ŚB., viii, 4, 4, 4-12: in the piling (*citiḥ*) of the bricks to form the body of the Fire (altar), two represent the head, which consists of "two bowls" (*kapālā*), i.e. cranium and lower jaw. Twenty others called "pure signs" (*puṇyā lakṣmāḥ*) are to be laid "in front (*purastāt*); for where the head is, there also are the two jaws (*hanū*) and the tongue; and thus he puts the 'pure signs' beside the mouth (*mukhatas*), and men say that 'He in whose mouth

¹ Cf. my "Atmayajña: Self-sacrifice" in *HJAS.*, vi, 1942, p. 378, note 56.

there is a mark (*lakṣma*) is gifted with the 'pure signs'. That, indeed, is the Brahma-piling . . . Prajāpati-piling . . . Rṣi-piling . . . Vāyu-piling . . . Stoma-piling . . . and 'Breath-piling' (*prāṇa-citiḥ*). Thereby this his piling acquires a lineage and derivation", i.e. its legitimate and full meaning. What, in fact, the "pure signs" imply is apparent from RV., x, 71, 2, "Where, like unto men who winnow (*punantaḥ*) corn in a cribble,¹ contemplatives (*dhīrāḥ*) impregnate Voice by Mind (*manasā vācam akrata*),² there friends acknowledge friendly (words), blest signs (*bhadrā . . . lakṣmīḥ*) imprinted³ in their Voice."

And likewise mentally, in the Internal Agnihotra, as described in ŚB., x, 5, 3, 1-12, where the Arka-Fires are mentally (*manasā*) piled and kindled, to the number of 360,000, i.e. on every day of the sacrificer's whole life of a hundred years; they are piled by the Mind, Voice, Breath, etc., and as piled, for example, by the Breath, are of the substance of Breath (*prāṇamaya*) and piled by the Breath (*prāṇa-cit*); and so it is that "by knowledge only that the Comprehensor piles these Fires". Cf. BG., iv, 27, "Offer up the senses and the breaths in the fire of the discipline of self-control, kindled by gnosis." Such offerings are obviously immaterial;

¹ On "winnowing" cf. my "Sunkiss" in *JAOS.*, 60, 1940, p. 48, note 10. Here the Fire-priest (Atharvan) and Winnower (Purifier, *kaṭapriṣ* of the soul, as in *Sophist*, 231 E) may well be the Breath "in the mouth" of BU., i, 3, 7 f., who frees the powers of the soul from evil and death, and translates (*atyavahat*) them, as the Fire, as missal priest, transmits to the Gods whatever is offered up in him. It is the more easy to think of an altar-fire piled in the mouth (instead of as more usually in the heart) because, of all the powers of the soul, it is the Voice that most immediately represents Agni: "Fire, becoming Voice, entered the mouth" (AA., ii, 4, 2), "Agni is the Voice" (ŚB., iii, 2, 2, 13). For the mouth as a sacrificial hearth cf. BU., i, 4, 6, and for the tongue as cribble RV., iv, 11, 2, and (implied) x, 71, 2.

² Kr. to "make"; here, as not infrequently in the vernacular, erotic sense, which is only an extension of the sense of the word in "make friends". It is a commonplace that whatever the Voice may utter that has not been fathered by (*abhiyata*, etc.) the Mind is nonsense. Cf. my *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government*, pp. 7, 12, 13.

³ "Imprinted" is one of Griffith's happiest renderings. "Signs," of course, are signatures and significations; pure signs are words correctly used, adequate symbols and images of their referents. That there are others who can only approach the Voice in sin (verse 9) reminds us of Plato's "Falsity in words is a reflection of sickness in the soul" (*Republic*, 382 C, cf. *Phaedrus*, 260 E, *Theaetetus*, 168 C), and of the similar saying of Mencius, for whom (ii, 1, 11) the misuse of words . . . is not to be set right merely by a glance in a dictionary, or even by a course in the theory of interpretation, but by a rectification of the whole personality" (Richards, I. A., *Mencius on the Mind*, 1932, p. 35).

and as we know, "It is only with such oblations as are incorporeal that the sacrificer wins immortality" (AB., ii, 14).

AV., x, 2 is closely related to the *Kena Upaniṣad* (= JUB., iv, 18 f.).¹ Here the question is, "By whom let fly, by whom flown forth, does the Mind fly?"² Yoked (*yuktaḥ*) by whom does the primal Breath³ go forth (*praiti*)? By whom let fly the Voice they speak? Vision and hearing, who the God that yokes them?"⁴ Here, as in AV., x, 2, for the most part, the intention of the question is to know the First Cause of man's being what he is. But it will be remarked that "go forth" (*praiti*) is an expression that usually implies a departure from this life; and this makes possible an answer that, just as in the two verses of AV. discussed above, has not so much to do with what man is as it has to do with what he may become, if he knows Who he is; we must not overlook that the question "Who is the God?" (*katamaḥ sa devaḥ, ka u devaḥ*) is the same as the question "Which is the self?" (*katama ātmā*, BU., iv, 3, 7; *ātmā . . . katamaḥ*, MU., ii, 1),⁵ and that "That art thou" (*tat tvam asi*, ŚA., xiii, etc.), viz. "the Person amongst the

¹ In many details as well as in form and substance. For example, the "victory" of AV., x, 2, 6 is the victory that was won by Brahma for the Gods in *Kena Up.*, iii, 1. I note some other correspondences as follows: 6, "Who bored the openings in the head?" is answered by "Svayambhū" in *Kaṭha Up.*, iv, 1: 27, "Breath defends" (*prāṇo abhi rakṣati*) corresponds to BU., iv, 3, 12, *prāṇena rakṣan*; the explanation of *puruṣa* in 30 (that man is a city indwelt by God) recurs in BU., ii, 5, 18. The Ppp. version of 25a, *brahmaṇā bhūmir niyatā* implies the *sūtrātman* doctrine, and is the exact equivalent of Dante's *questi la terra in se stringe* (*Paradiso*, i, 117), a concept that has also a long history in Europe, going back to *Theaetetus*, 153, and *Iliad*, viii, 18 f.

² "Mind is the swiftest of fliers" (RV., vi, 9, 5). The metaphor, possibly of archery, is probably of falconry, as in RV., ix, 77, 2, where "the celestial Falcon let fly through space (*śyeno . . . iṣitas tiro rajas*) wrings Soma's neck" (it must be understood that "Soma was Vṛtra", as in ŚB., iv, 4, 3, 4): cf. RV., i, 118, 11 and iv, 27. Positive evidence for falconry can be cited in the word *śyenajīvin*, *Mānavadharmasūtra*, iii, 164.

³ *Prāṇaḥ prathamah*. "Mind is the first of the breaths" (*mano hi prathamam prāṇānām*, ŚB., x, 5, 3, 7). Hence the sense is, "By whom let fly, by whom flown forth, by whom yoked, does the Mind, the primal Breath, fly forth?"

⁴ The answer immediately implied is Brahma, but any form of the Sun could be cited, e.g. Savitr (TS., iv, 1, 1), or Prajāpati (MU., ii, 6d).

⁵ Buddhist, "Who's cleansed, released, who bound, and with what self does he reach the Brahma-world?" (*Ko sujjhati muccati bajjhati ca, ken'attānā brahma-lokaṃ gacchati*, Sn. 508): "with self that's Brahma-become" (*brahma-bhūtena attanā*, A., ii, 211); "the Buddhas, Brahma-become" (*brahma-bhūta . . . buddhā*, S., iii, 83); "such is the cleanness of the Yakkha" (Sn., 875, 876), i.e. the Brahma-Yakṣa of AV., x, 2, 32 and x, 8, 43 and *Kena Up.*, iii, 1 f.

the body,¹ in which he is "carted about" (*rathita*, MU., iv, 4), the flight "of the Alone to the Alone" (Plotinus, *Enneads*, vi, 9, 11).

It has now, I think, been clearly shown of what sacrificial fire there can "be piled a piling in the jaws" and that it is Brahma, referred to by that or by any other of his many names, e.g. Svayambhū or Prajāpati, who, in his *līlā*, both enters into man with all the powers of the soul, and gathering them together again, departs aloft with them: and, finally, understood that That art thou, the sacrificer and the Sacrifice.

¹ "From the skull" is regularly the Spirit's place of exit, as it was of its entrance, that ray which pierces the bregmatic fontanel (*brahmarandhra*) leading upward directly to the Sundoor (*Ait. Up.*, iii, 11; *Taitt. Up.*, i, 6; MU., iv, 6, etc.).

The Bearskin, another pictographic reconnaissance from primitive prophylactic to present-day panache: a Chinese epigraphic puzzle

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE II)

AMONG the several hundred archaic forms preserved in the inscriptions on the bone fragments of the Honan Find which research has failed to identify there is a minority demanding special attention. And in it perhaps the most outstanding challenge to aggressive epigraphists is the figure appearing in Plate II. This inscription discloses a human shape of grotesque design. Above the emaciated and linear frontal figure of a man, appears an object covering but concealing his head, which resembles an outsize and ill-designed bowler hat. From what seem like ear-flaps depend two oval earrings perhaps, and in front of the bulky head-gear two small apertures are remarkable. Such is the leading figure in the sequence of the four characters in the centre of the plate. On each side of the three main rows are several characters perhaps not all connected with the three main columns.

The broken condition of the bone fragment has cut off at least one character above and below each column, thus making an English rendering more uncertain. Here it will be convenient to present the plate and translation along with a figure with some pertinent explanations, given in this *Journal* for July, 1925, under the title "Metamorphic Stylization and the Sabotage of Significance", pp. 455-7. This is the figure. It occurs twice in an inscription reproduced in Plate VIII of my 1925 article. Sun I-jang, a distinguished scholar, putting previous decipherments aside, equated it with the modern character 孳 *tzŭ*, "to breed, bear abundantly." Such an equation seemed quite impossible, and I gave reasons for reading the character as the early form of the word now written 蠻 *Man*, a term applied by the Chinese to the barbarians of the south, their troublesome neighbours, who were *man* without being men. I argued that my rendering of the character made excellent sense and was appropriate, whereas Mr. Sun's equation with *tzŭ* was unjustified. After seventeen years it seems to me strange



that Mr. Sun should have been unable to discern in the term, twice repeated in the inscription, having the old form of 服 *fu*, "subject," as its first element, and an unknown character as its second, "the Man tribes of the southern country who had dared to injure and ravage our territory," as I had rendered it.

Starting from my 1925 article we shall I hope be better qualified to appreciate the evidential values disclosed by the inscription regarding the Man in the Bowler Hat. Here I introduce Plate II, a photograph of the inscription adding its modern Chinese version with a tentative translation. Tentative such a rendering must be, not merely because the text is some 3,000 years old, and in an archaic script which only a few Chinese scholars are competent to transpose into modern equivalents, but also because the text is incomplete, the fracture of the bone above and below having obliterated some six to eight characters. Furthermore several units of the text, like others in other such texts, remain indeterminate and perplexingly ambiguous. Two and sometimes more modern equations have been put forward for each unknown form. A translator must make a choice, and here the choice has been made. First comes a transcription in modern Chinese, column by column, as numbered. The brackets contain characters either certain or very probable.

5.	4.	3.	2.	1.
[?]	[?]	允	戌	[真] 有
咎	貞	有	蠻	旬 希
丙	旬	來	伏	亡 其
戌	亡	媯	方	咎 其
獻	咎	自	相	王
僞		西	[?]	占
		八		日
		[日]		

Col. 1. [chêng] *hsün wu chiu wang chan yüeh yu i (sui) ch'i* . . .

Col. 2. [hsü] *Man fu fang hsiang* [?]

Col. 3. *yün yu lai chien* ¹ *tzü hsi pa* [jih]

Col. 4. [?] *chêng hsün wu chiu*

Col. 5. [?] *chiu ping hsü hsien ch'êng.*

The main uncertainty in dealing with this inscription of stark

¹ Following T'ang Lan's equation with the modern 寔 *chien* in his note on his Bone 10, on p. 15 of his *T'ien Jang Ko chia ku wen ts'un*.

and uninflected roots springs from much enforced uncertainty of the grammatical relations between the individual characters, and of the syntactic bearing, if any, of the several incomplete sentences on each other. It will be most convenient to English the text column by column adding short notes except for column 2, where a fuller treatment is demanded and will be found later.

Col. 1. "[Inquired] whether the next 10 days will be without untoward events. The royal oracle declares that there is an omen that the . . .

Col. 2. "[戌] the *Man* domain exorcists [?]


Col. 3. "Response ordaining a coming difficulty from the West eight [? 日 *jih*, days]


Col. 4. "Inquired whether the next 10 days will be without untoward events.


Col. 5. "[inquired whether the next 10 days would be without] untoward events. On the day *ping hsü* offered sacrifice to. . ."

Thus the sum of the legible words shows that at least two, and probably three separate entries are disclosed. For more than one such inquiry would not be made within the same ten days. Of this formula of six characters only four are visible here, but the wording is always preceded by the day-date, and constitutes the commonest sequence of six words to be found on these relics. And this formula is part of a ceremonial routine recurring on the last day of each decade as a prayer or pious aspiration for the coming period.

By the words 王占曰 *wang chan yieh*, we should understand "The Royal oracle announces," which clause introduces 有祟其 . . . *yu sui ch'i* . . ., "there is a malignant spirit, and there will. . ."

The obsolete character  (incidentally *not* an ancient form of 之 *chih*) corresponds to the modern 有 *yu*, "to have," but its sound

is as yet unknown. And what is stranger is that the form  *yu* = "to have" is also common on these relics. The next character

 is read by Sun I-jiang as an ancient form of *i*, "an animal," the Shuo Wen says, "having long bristles"; and Kuo Mo-jo, with whom on this point T'ang Lan concurs, adds that it should be read as 祟





sui, "a malignant ghost or spirit." The net result of his ingenious argument is that this scratchy complex of broken lines is an early form from which both *i* and *sui* have developed, the ancient sounds of both having been rhymes, say, *ui* and *sui*.


Col. 3. Above the character 允 *yün*, there must have been at least two others: it means "to grant, vouchsafe, ordain", and in these bone inscriptions appears to imply "the receipt of a response to prayer". But it appears a strange word to use when, as here, the coming event from the West seems a presage of evil import. However, several inscriptions with language of similar quality in the pages of the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Ch'ing Hua*, refer apparently to various unfortunate incidents to be expected sometimes from the West, sometimes from the North. Such incidents might well be raids from hostile neighbouring tribes, several of whose ethnic names appear often in these records. Below the last two complete characters in col. 3, "from the West," we can detect the upper part of 八 *pa*, "eight," which would be followed by the day-date in two characters, and these might well head column 4, above the word 貞 *chêng*, "to inquire."

Col. 4. The remaining space here is not used, it will be noticed.

Col. 5. Owing to the fracture of the bone, the characters are only partly visible. The last but one is the word now written 虞 *yen*, and is the true origin of 獻 *hsien*, "to offer sacrifice." Let me call attention once more to the misunderstood and misleading corruption

of the upper part of the vessel, a colander,  to the form of the

Tiger's open jaws, such as , more often and more stylized as

 (pp. 475-8, *JRAS.*, July, 1925).

So far, all comments have been in the main intended as a background to the four strange characters of the second column. These seem to deserve close examination. And it will be advisable to begin with the last two characters, where it is to be regretted that the fracture of the bone has removed from our scrutiny at least two that must have followed the word 相 *hsiang*, and would have thrown light on the whole passage. However we must make such brick as our ration of straw permits. What then is the meaning of this expression 方相 *fang hsiang*? Until the exhumation of this

bone fragment the first mention of this term was in the Chou Li, i.e. the "Official organization of the Chou Dynasty". There in *chüan* 31, folio 27, appears the entry *Fang hsiang shih*, 方相氏, rendered by Biot,¹ "Inspecteur de région ou Préserveur universel." Actually, this personage seems to have combined the duties of Quarter-Master General and Sanitary Inspector, but Chief Exorcist will be a fairly exact rendering. The original description of this official says:—

"The duty of the Chief Exorcist is that, hooded with a bear's skin having four gold eyes, wearing a dark jacket and red skirt, grasping a lance and brandishing a shield, followed by a hundred retainers, in seasons of distress, should explore dwellings and expel the Pestilence therefrom," 掌蒙熊皮黃金四目玄衣朱裳執戈揚盾...以索室毆疫 (*chang mêng hsiung p'i huang chin ssü mu hsüan i chu shang chih ko yang tun ... i so shih ou i*). Turn now to the remarkable shape at the head of this second column, which forms the core of this study. The only Chinese specialist, to my knowledge, who has published a conjectural identification of this figure is Mr. Kuo Mo-jo. I know it only as cited in the *Chia Ku Hsüeh Wên Tzû Pien*.² I regret that the original passage is not contained in any of Mr. Kuo's works in my library, and the more so as it would be very interesting, and possibly convincing, to see how he would render the whole passage in modern Chinese. Although our conclusions are not the same, we travel the same road for most of the way.

Kuo opens thus: This is a figure of a man wearing a mask and should be the earliest form of the character 魃 *ch'i*, 象人戴面具之形當是魃之初文 *hsiang jên tai mien chü chih hsing tang shih ch'i chih ch'u wên*. Kuo then quotes from the Chou Li the passage cited and translated above as far as the words "four eyes", and adds Chêng K'ang-chêng's comment, "like the modern ghosts head," 如今魃頭也 *ju chin ch'i t'ou yeh*. And as Chêng lived and wrote in the second century A.D., Sun I-jang, a sub-commentator of our own day, comments on Chêng's comment by citing from the Palace edition of the Decorum Ritual, a passage from the 風俗通 *Fêng Su Tung*, of the second century A.D., that a dead man's soul would be dissipated unless a ghost's head 魃頭 *ch'i t'ou*, were

¹ In his *Le Tcheou-Li, ou Rites des Tcheou*, vol. 2, p. 225.

² 甲骨學文字編, Addenda 補遺, pp. 14-15.

made to conserve it, meaning that the bulk of the head is horrifying, 頭體魃魃然 *t'ou t'i ch'i-ch'i-jan*, and hugely big, 盛大也 *shêng ta yeh*. . . . Kuo himself then proceeds, "The true character for 魃 *ch'i* should be 顛 *ch'i*, which the Shuo Wên defines as 醜 *ch'ou*, 'hideous,' " adding, "in our times there are 顛頭 *ch'i t'ou* 'ghost heads', for driving away pestilence." I omit a passage from Huai Nan Tzŭ as not very relevant here, and pass to Kuo's note that the character 顛 *ch'i* is also written 俱 *ch'i*, and in support he quotes from 荀子 Hsün Tzŭ, fourth century B.C., a curious passage concerning Confucius, thus, 仲尼之狀面如蒙俱, *Chung-ni chih chuang mien ju mêng ch'i*, "Chung-ni's countenance seemed to wear a mask," on which the commentator 楊 Yang, notes, "俱 *ch'i* is 方相 *fang hsiang*, an Exorcist's mask"; and (Yang) further cites the Vice-President Han 韓侍郎,¹ who affirms that "four eyes is a *fang hsiang*, two eyes is a 俱 *ch'i*". And 慎子 Shên Tzŭ (who according to Wylie, lived in the fourth century B.C.) states that Mao Ch'iang and Hsi Shih were the most beautiful women in the world. When they were habited in a 皮俱 *p'i ch'i*, "skin mask," all who saw them made off. For in Chou times the bearskin hood with its four eyes worn by the exorcists was termed a Bearskin Mask. The Ghost-Head of the Han period was the Skin Mask of the Chou. 漢魃頭卽周之皮俱, *Han ch'i t'ou ch'i Chou chih p'i ch'i*, and so Chêng adduced it as evidence. This explanation of the character 魃 *ch'i* is as exact as it is complete. And, Mr. Kuo concludes, the character under review has precisely a head and body of horrifying aspect and of huge size, but depicting fully the ears and eyes, while confirming still further Vice-President Han's explanation that "two eyes is a *ch'i*". Most certainly this is the original figure of 魃 *ch'i*. The variants 魃, 顛, and 俱, all pronounced *ch'i*, are forms of later times, and examples of Phonetic Compounds 形聲字 *hsing shêng tzŭ*. With this picture before us we can learn that the popular Ghost-head has come down to us from the Yin Dynasty age. Mr. Kuo's essay ends with a marginal remark that the two pendants from the ears are shaped like ear-rings 珥形 *erh hsing*.

The above is a faithful rendering of Mr. Kuo's valuable note on the ancient character, which is also a caricature, and which I have styled a Man in a Bowler hat, a description less frivolous and more

¹ Presumably 韓非 Han Fei, died 233 B.C.

faithful to my view than appears on the face of it. With Mr. Kuo Mo-jo's judgment of the evidence he puts forward I gladly concur. It is only to his conclusion that the strange shape is the primitive representation of the syllable *ch'i* (in modern script 俱), "a mask," that I venture to demur. His conclusion, no less than mine, is a conjecture. It may be proved right by future research, but if so, I do not understand how he would translate the four words of column 2 of the inscription.

Let me now advance my own conjecture, and the reasons for it. I suggest that the enigmatic figure is a very primitive drawing of a Man tribesman, and represents the modern 蠻 character (*man*), with whose composition, however, it has nothing in common. In my article of July, 1925, I essayed to show by the Plate VIII, and the text-figs. 5 and 6, that these types were to be equated with the modern character (as shown just above), and represented a frontal view of one of these indigenous *Man*, in diagrammatic

form, thus,



. I see no reason to change my opinion since then.

I now add for comparison, a copy of the figure standing at the head of col. 2 in the accompanying Plate II.



The contention is that this quaint drawing is of earlier design than the diagram above it, typologically if not chronologically. There is the hood, and headdress with its mask of bearskin, mentioned by the Chou Li. There, too, particularly to be noticed, are the two eyes of the mask, according to the commentator Yang, who differentiated between the two in the *ch'i*, and the four when worn by the *fang hsiang*. There also are two pendant earrings hanging from the ears or perhaps from the ear-flaps. All this being so, what is the import of the characters, and what is the English rendering I put forward? The last two characters 方相 *fang hsiang*, "exorcists," being certain, and the first, according to my conjecture, being 蠻 *Man*, everything hinges on the identification of

the intervening character



, which I read 伏 *fu*, "to submit, to be subject."¹

Now the word 伏 *fu* is a synonym, and, moreover, an absolute homophone of 服 *fu*, in rhyme, in tone, and even in initial sound, and speaking technically, both characters fall under the same rhyme category (Tuan Yü-ts'ai's 3rd), a fact which in the considered view of the modern Chinese specialists justifies their use interchangeably, 通用 *t'ung yung*. If therefore I treat 伏 *fu* as equivalent to 服 *fu* in this inscription, it will not be, I submit, for the Chinese specialists to take exception to it. Accordingly I propose as the rendering of column 2, "The exorcists of the Man tribes domain," while Mr. Kuo, not attempting any paraphrase in modern Chinese, holds by an equation with the word 俱 *ch'i*, with its several alternative variants. Our conclusions differ. But the character of the difference hangs on the difference of the character. Is that as Kuo thinks 俱 *ch'i*, "a man wearing a mask," or is it, as I suggest, "a *Man* hooded with a bearskin"? Future research must provide the answer as to the wearer, but what is common to both is the Bearskin.

A clear-cut memory of childhood recalls a parade of the Grenadier Guards in their towering and tremendous Bearskins. And now Captain C. F. G. Crawford tells me that when William III landed at Tor Bay in November, 1688, he brought 200 Finnish mercenaries in bearskins and black armour; probably wearing dark grey coats. Was it some reminiscence of this that in 1768 put all Grenadier Companies of Footguards and the Line into tall fur-caps with a brass plate in front? On 29th July, 1815, the First Footguards were renamed First or Grenadier Regiment of Footguards to commemorate their services at Waterloo and the whole Regiment wore the bearskin. The Second (Coldstream) and the Third (Scots) Guards did not adopt it till about 1828 when William IV gave them the title of Fusilier Guards. The Coldstreams dropped the title of Fusilier very soon but the Scots kept it till 1877.

¹ The reasons for this equation were given in my Paper Metamorphic Stylization and the Sabotage of Significance in the *JRAS.* for July 1925, pp. 455-7.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Fedor Ippolitorich Scherbatskoy

The Society has heard with regret of the death of Professor "Theodor Stcherbatsky", who from 1923 had been one of its Honorary Members and who was present at its Centenary celebrations in that year. His death is stated to have occurred in Leningrad during the siege winter of 1941-2.

Under war conditions it is only possible to record a few biographical particulars, kindly communicated by Professor Minorsky, who mentions an Academy memoir and appreciation by the lamented Dr. Serge F. Oldenburg, reprinted in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, N.S., Petrograd, 1918, pp. 1713-1722.

Fedor Ippolitovich Scherbatskoy was born in 1866 (19th September) at Keltse, in Poland, where his father held an administrative post, the family home and estate being near to St. Petersburg. In 1884 he passed from the Gymnasium of Tsarskoye Selo into the St. Petersburg University, where, in the Faculty of Philology, he attended lectures on Indian subjects (by Minayev and Oldenburg), on Germanic (by F. A. Braun), and on Slavonic (by Jagič): he wrote a thesis on "The two series of Gutturals in Indo-European". From 1888 he was in Vienna, studying Sanskrit Poetics (*Alaṃkāra*) with Bühler and publishing in German *Über das Haihayendracarita*, and in Russian *The Indian Theory of Poetry*. He also attended lectures on Romance Philology (Meyer-Lübke), Slavonic (Jagič), and General Linguistics (F. Müller).

During 1893-1900 he lived on his estate, was elected a member of the local zemstvo and held some official posts.

After attending the International Congress of Orientalists in Rome. (1899) he read Indian Philosophy with Jacobi in Bonn. He next made a journey in Mongolia, where he came into touch with Lamas and conceived his idea of the Buddhist philosopher Dharmakīrti as "the Indian Kant". His *Theory of Knowledge and Logic in the doctrine of the later Buddhism* (in Russian) was published in 1903. Now a Tibetanist also, he wrote in 1907 on "Determinants of Roots in Tibetan". A long visit to India in 1910-11 was spent mainly at the feet of Pandits in Poona, who conferred upon him a Sanskrit title of honour: he also visited Calcutta.

From 1910 a Corresponding Member of the St. Petersburg Academy, he was elected in 1918 to full membership. The revolution of 1917 engulfed his estate (afterwards the peasants would have

welcomed his reoccupation of the large house), and he moved to Leningrad. He was able to make one or two visits to Western Europe (Bonn, Paris, and London) and to study with his Buriat Lama friends in Central-Asian monasteries. During the inter-war period the Russian sphere was, except for the Academy's Bicentenary in 1925, rather screened; but the work of scholars, heroically maintained, was partly known from publications which reached the outside world. Scherbatskoy's share included the most mature and massive of his writings, of which we can merely name his great *Buddhist Logic* (2 vols.), the editions of the *Nyāya-bindu* and its commentaries (Indices by Obermiller), of the *Santānāntarasiddhi* (*Refutation of Solipsism*, Tibetan version), and the *Abhisamayā-lankāra* (with Obermiller), and the most elaborately schemed edition and translation of the *Abhidharma-kośa*, with its versions (Chinese, Tibetan, etc.) and commentaries. These are largely concerned with the concluding third stage of Buddhist philosophy: the *Abhidharma-kośa*, however, belongs to the second stage, which is also represented by Scherbatskoy's *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana* (1927): the first stage, exemplified by Pali Buddhism, was treated in the Society's own publication (1923) of "The Central Conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word 'Dharma'".

Scherbatskoy's giant physique towered in most companies; his friendliness and good humour, his scholarly integrity and depth, and even his perfect command of English (as well as French and German) idiom and enunciation were shared by practically the whole fraternal band of St. Petersburg orientalists whose focus, during the early years of the present century, was the Academy's Asiatic Museum. His memory will be associated, as he would have wished, with the names of Radloff, Saleman, Oldenburg, von Stael-Holstein, Rosenberg, Alexeiev, and others of that company as well as with those of collaborators of a later date and pupils like Dr. E. E. Obermiller and Dr. Tubiansky.

Florence Ayscough MacNair

When Florence Ayscough (*née* Wheelock) arrived from Canada as a young bride in Shanghai, she was in her very early twenties; and she soon decided that, since her life was to be cast in China, she would learn to speak Chinese and to read Chinese literature. If every British bride in the Orient showed half this intelligent

attitude, she would prove herself of far more use to her country and to humanity in general than she often does. Florence Ayscough came of intellectual Unitarian stock, had been educated in Boston, and to her an appreciative study of Chinese was a natural and pleasurable duty. Most of the years she spent in China she had a Chinese teacher reading beside her. The North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai was in low water, and for years she worked hard and successfully at its rehabilitation, spending her energies and her money freely as its Honorary Librarian. Chinese art also, with its beauty and colour, became her delight.

Her first book, *Fir-Flower Tablets*, was a translation of poems from the Chinese, done in collaboration with Amy Russell Lowell. Her next, *A Chinese Mirror*, was a thoughtful analysis of the foundations of the Chinese social and governmental structure, with special regard to the symbolism of the imperial palaces of Peking. Soon, however, her love of the Chinese poets reasserted itself, and she published her translations of the poems of *Tu Fu*, together with a biography of that poet as deduced from the study of his works : and this was followed in 1934 by her *Travels of a Chinese Poet*. Her rendering of the ideographs was full of vivid imagery, and the modern archæologist with his more recent discoveries concerning the structure of the ideographs, might not always subscribe to her reading. But she did a great service to the public in America and England, by her enthusiastic introduction of so great a poet as *Tu Fu*, till then unknown to them. At the same time, when lecturing, she managed to convey something of the chanting tone and rhythm of spoken Chinese verse—no mean task. Other lighter books had much charm : *The Autobiography of a Chinese Dog* (her own Pekingese), and *Fire-Cracker Land*. Her last work, *Chinese Women Yesterday and To-day*, had as a theme the realization that the women leaders of the present time are but successors of a long line of capable, though secluded, Chinese women.

Of a gallant and warm personality, she welcomed and encouraged young writers. Speaking French and German fluently, she lectured before many learned societies, and had friends in every capital in Europe. In 1935 she married Professor Harley Farnsworth MacNair, the historian, and their Chicago home was a centre of hospitality, open to all from the Far East. To her bereaved husband our sympathy is extended.

DOROTHEA HOSIE.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Middle East

IRAN IN THE ANCIENT EAST. By ERNST E. HERZFELD. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. 363, pls. 131, illus. 421. Oxford University Press (New York), 1941. £12 12s.

The Oxford Press of America is well justified in claiming this latest work of Professor Herzfeld as a major contribution to our knowledge of Middle Eastern Archæology, for it embodies the mature fruits of the author's long and intimate study of Iranian antiquities—a field in which he is one of the foremost authorities. The book is not entirely new. Much of its subject matter was first presented to the public in the Lowell Lectures which Professor Herzfeld delivered in Boston in 1936, but the original lectures have since been brought up to date and amplified in various directions, notably in the prehistoric section; and their value is further enhanced by the splendid series of photos and drawings with which they are illustrated.

Of the four chapters into which the book is divided, the first, which occupies more than half of the whole, deals with the Pre-historic period, the second with the Dawn of History, the third with the Achæmenid period, and the fourth with the Arsacid and Sasanid periods. The book thus covers virtually the whole story of Iran's material culture down to the advent of the Muhammadans. Professor Herzfeld does not, of course, profess to make an exhaustive survey of this great field—a task which would require, not one, but a dozen such volumes as this. What he does seek to do, and does remarkably well, is to take the outstanding monuments and most notable of the minor antiquities, assess impartially their merits and demerits, trace out their origins and connections, and assign them to their proper place in the cultural landscape of Western Asia. The high lights of his picture are focused, as might be expected, on his own discoveries, particularly on those at Persepolis and the Kūh-i-Khwāja in Sīstān, but there are countless references to, and valuable comparisons with, finds from other sites. The magnificent array of figural reliefs and other new architectural features which the author brought to light at the Achæmenid palace-fortress of

Persepolis, are already known to some extent from preliminary accounts in illustrated journals. What are not so well known are the discoveries he made at a neolithic settlement of unusual character some two miles distant from the Persepolis palace. His account of this settlement is not, unfortunately, accompanied by a plan, but he describes the habitations as made of beaten earth and connected together in one continuous group, which extended virtually over the whole village; and from this peculiarity of their plan he concludes that "the people did not live in monogamic families but in clans with strange marriage customs", including female inheritance. Professor Herzfeld may conceivably be right, but it must be confessed that the evidence is over slender to bear so weighty a conclusion, since there are obviously other and simpler explanations which might equally well account for the unusual plan of the habitations. It may be, for example, that the builders were merely desirous of economizing in labour and material; or they may have wished to provide for greater warmth in winter; or they may have been following a tradition handed down from a time when the people lived, as troglodytes, in groups of natural caves or dwellings excavated in the hillsides. In support of his theory, Professor Herzfeld refers to the existence of the matriarchal rule of succession in Elam, which ethnically he regards as part of Irān, and at a later date also in Śakasthān, where, he states, "the sister's son succeeded the king." He does not say on what this statement is based; but it may be noted that it is not in any way borne out by the Śaka-Pahlava coinage.

The wall-paintings disclosed to view by the author in the Kūh-i-Khwāja fortress in Sistān, though sadly mutilated, are valuable examples of Partho-Hellenistic art such as one might expect to find in this region at the beginning of the Christian era. To judge by the eleven panels reproduced in colours, there seems no sufficient reason for connecting them, as Professor Herzfeld was at first inclined to do, with Græco-Bactrian art, except in so far as both go back to a common Hellenistic ancestry. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the *frātadāra* figure on pl. lxxxvi is holding the *barsom* in his right, not in his left, hand, as stated in the text; that the ostrich is not a water-bird (p. 57); and that, whatever else it may be, the feline animal of fig. 386, with a tail reaching to the ground, is not a stag, in spite of what looks like a fragmentary horn in Ch. Texier's drawing.

Paper, printing, and illustrations could hardly be improved on, but the absence of a serviceable Table of Contents, List of Illustrations, and adequate Index is a serious drawback to the student. It is not as if this was a book to be read once and put away among other heavy tomes. It is a book to be read, and re-read, and then kept at hand for easy reference. But reference to it is going to be anything but easy with more than 1,300 captionless drawings in the text, to say nothing of the plates, and with an index that, all told, runs to less than a hundred entries.

B. 740.

JOHN MARSHALL.

Far East

PEOPLES OF THE PHILIPPINES. By HERBERT W. KRIEGER. 9 × 6, pp. 1-86. Smithsonian Institution War Background Studies, No. 4. Washington, 1942.

As a popular study for war purposes this work may serve its end though it is neither scholarly nor accurate. The fact that its bibliography contains works published only in the United States and in Manila suggests much of its contents is second-hand. An acquaintance with Dutch, French, or English scholarship would have saved the author the trouble of devoting so many words to the difference between a Malay race and a Malay people, who he thinks (quite unscientifically) originated in Minangkabau. The Minangkabaus were only the highland inheritors of Sri Vijaya, a Buddhist kingdom in which the Malays who had come from Yunnan and filled the north of the Malay Peninsula as well as parts of Sumatra came under strong Indian influence. Sri Vijaya had a Sumatran capital at Palembang, here wrongly spelt Palengane (p. 32), but it may have had other capitals in the Malay peninsula. Sri Vijaya fell before Majapahit, for which the author has adopted unconsciously the Dutch spelling of Madjapahit; and the Minangkabau ruling family claimed to be descended from the Sailendra family which had ruled ancient Palembang. There is no evidence to assign the founding of Singapore to 1160 and it was not destroyed in 1250, but more than a century later (p. 32). Nor is it correct to say (p. 32) that the aboriginal Indonesians of Malaya are not connected racially with the Malay. The Hinduized and Muslim Malay who spread throughout the Archipelago can hardly be described "a true Malay" (p. 32), such a description if allowed to

science being more applicable to the unmixed Protomalay. *Allahu ta'ala* is a strange misspelling (p. 36), and a "Mohammedan caste system" (p. 39) is an extraordinary expression.

B. 746.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

SINGAPORE NIGHTMARE. By OUTPOST. 7 × 5, pp. 68. John Crowther, Ltd., London. 3s. 6d.

Objectivity and lack of sentiment mark this account by a fighting Volunteer of the last days of Singapore and of his flight across Sumatra. "Under the terms of surrender all equipment and guns had to be handed over intact. The next day our guns had to be cleaned in readiness to hand them over to the enemy!" (p. 17). "The Japanese pilot seemed to have expended all his machine-gun bullets on the Australians, and when they cocked a snook at him, had come down very low and taken pot-shots at them with his revolver" (p. 30). Sentences like those are not touched with the mortality of ephemeral gossip. Instead of moralizing we have such comment as "one Volunteer found that in his excitement he had put his trousers on back to front" (p. 7), or "the Indian watchman I knew had half-buried an empty beer-box in a piece of land near where he was employed. Whenever an air-raid warning went he used to run and put his head into the beer-box leaving the rest of his body to fate" (p. 11). The main fault of Outpost's book is its brevity. In an appendix is reprinted a widely quoted article by Sir Keith Murdoch. Of that article one of the most pregnant sentences is this: "Very little preparation had been made on Singapore's north-western seventeen-mile front, on one seven-mile section of which the Japanese finally descended. It was mostly mangrove swamp, fringing the rubber plantations, and the garrison command had believed it to be impassable" (p. 56). In an article printed in the *Daily Telegraph* just before Singapore was invaded I wrote: "Shoals running far out at the north-west corner where, too, the shore is mangrove swamp, will not prove hazardous to an enemy with local knowledge and resourceful as we know him to be." Apparently there were other human ostriches in Singapore besides that Indian watchman, and there was never enough use made of local knowledge.

In a second edition the term *Malay* should be reserved for the people of Malay race and their language, and the term *Malayan*

used for any inhabitant of Malaya, Chinese, Indian, or European. For "Indian Civil Servant" (p. 10) should be read "Indian in the local government service". "Padang" should be read *passim* for "Podang". "Snoot" (p. 30) should be corrected to "snook".

B. 745.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

MALAYAN POSTSCRIPT. By IAN MORRISON. 8 × 5½, pp. 196.
London, 1942. 8s. 6d.

"There are a hundred faults in this thing," Oliver Goldsmith wrote of his prose idyll, adding, "A book may be amusing with numerous errors in it or it may be dull without a single absurdity." That, except for the inappropriate "amusing", exactly fits this book by a young war correspondent with barely a tourist's knowledge of Malaya, and no particular eye for terrain, a book so vivid one would like to see it reprinted, shorn of its inconsistencies and errors.

Not till official reports appear can all the implications of the Malayan campaign be reviewed by students of war. And here it is more apposite to consider the writer's impression of British administration in Malaya and of the Asiatic attitude towards it. Clearly at the end civil administration collapsed, but has it ever failed to collapse in any country overrun by a mechanized army? It was apparently the military command (p. 69) which ordered the evacuation of Europeans from Penang in scorn of political consequence and moral decency. But if the flight of some British officials and doctors (p. 104) looks extremely ugly, there have been definite statements that Japanese leaflets led Malay rulers and their subjects to entreat Europeans to quit so that the Asiatic might be spared the horrors of bombing. Over British morale the author sits so precariously on the fence (pp. 27, 189, 190) that he runs the risk of appearing ridiculous. In one passage of youthful moralizing he finds the Briton soft compared with the Dutch, as indeed he looks superficially even in Europe, and in another the Briton is "gravely wanting in the very qualities that gained our empire", while in a third passage of more actuality "for every case of personal effeteness or ineffectiveness" Mr. Morrison found "two of personal toughness and courage", which is perhaps a generous estimate for any community. Like our troops, but with less excuse, as he had spent two years in Japan, the author is disposed to mistake the absence of cheering crowds for Oriental apathy. And his remark that "the majority of Asiatics were not sufficiently interested in the

continuation of British rule to take any steps to ensure its continuance" (p. 38), ludicrously overlooks the helplessness of unarmed Norwegian, Dutch, Belgian, and French patriots in this war, and the fact that in Malaya's halcyon days even to possess an unlicensed gun was a serious offence. More rightly, I feel sure, he scouts the idea that Malays and Chinese were on the side of the Japanese (pp. 125, 139, 140), and he praises the local Chinese (pp. 165-171), who, as one would expect, even had the nerve to collect and sell fish blown to the surface of the sea by Japanese bombs (p. 27).

But he has so little knowledge of Oriental social life that he imagines Eurasians can form a strong link between Europeans and Asiatics (p. 37)! And his view that "the Malays are comparative newcomers" (p. 31) is an error copied from authors like Swettenham, who have blindly accepted Malay tradition that applies only to Rajas, while the common people of northern Malaya came down from Yunnan long before the Thais occupied Siam.

The obtuse lack of humour in the Japanese mind is illustrated by General Tamashita's feeling "that in the mind of Hitler there was much spiritual matter transcending the material plane. Hitler said since his boyhood he had been attracted by Japan" (p. 131). Hitler and Tamashita! One humbly admits the great Surrealist of heaven has created types that relegate the Walrus and the Carpenter to the children's corner for ever.

Mr. Morrison has confused the sites of the Royal Singapore Yacht Club and the R.A.F. Yacht Club, and the Sultan of Perak had no brother (p. 134).

R. O. WINSTEDT.

MONKEY. By WU CH'ENG-EN, translated from the Chinese by ARTHUR WALEY. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1942.

Here is a sixteenth-century Chinese fantasia based on the seventh-century journey of Tripitaka to India. It is contemporary with Cervantes, and akin to his spirit; a blend of marvels and daily life, satire, ripe experience, and good humour; highly-skilled storytelling, full of personality and entertainment. From an original of enormous length, Waley has made an abridgment. It is his thirteenth book of Far-Eastern literature, endowing English readers with that literature to an extent that no other nation, probably, enjoys. Waley is never at anything but his best, and his

best is of a kind of which both the reading-public and Orientalists have need. His skill would have given him a high place as an original writer had he not been content to devote it all to the service of China and Japan.

E. S. BATES.

Miscellaneous

BRITISH ORIENTALISTS. By A. J. ARBERRY. $9 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 47.
London: William Collins, 1943. 4s. 6d.

Although this Society has always welcomed Oriental research from whatever country it proceeded, it has naturally interested itself for the most part in the labours of British Orientalists, and a volume which provides a sketch of the more famous orientalist of British nationality is one that calls for a special welcome. Dr. Arberry has, at the end of his book, supplied a list of about a hundred names of persons coming under this category, and has in the text of the book given brief but illuminating sketches of a large number of those appearing in this list; sketches which in many cases must have entailed much wide reading and research. It is, of course, open to discussion whether this or that name should have been so noticed, and there are some readers who doubtless would have liked to have seen an account, however brief, of men like Tod or Yule, who are not described in the text; but on the whole Dr. Arberry has given us a fine selection, and he has extended his attention to several orientalist still living, among whom one is glad to find our present President. It is a satisfaction to note how large a proportion of those mentioned by Dr. Arberry have been members and valued supporters of our Society.

This little book belongs to the series entitled "Britain in Pictures", and it is attractively got up, with 8 plates in colour and 20 illustrations in black and white. Some of the pictures, though adding to the pleasantness of the volume, have little or nothing to do with the letterpress, but there are also some well-selected portraits of the early heroes of British Orientalism, which must always be of interest to members of our Society. Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait of Sir William Jones, which is here reproduced in colour, lends a special distinction to the volume, and considering the charm of this and the other illustrations, the book may be said to have been issued at an astonishingly moderate price.

B. 741.

E. D. MACLAGAN.

STORIA DELLA LETTERATURA EBRAICA POSTBIBLICA. By UMBERTO CASSUTO. pp. xvi + 212, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Firenze, 1938.

This much-needed manual of the post-biblical literature of the Jews is from the pen of Professor Umberto Cassuto, whose great services to Oriental scholarship the régime of Mussolini has characteristically rewarded by removal from the chair of Hebrew at the University of Rome.

To have compressed writings extending over two thousand years within the compass of some two hundred pages is a considerable feat. The book is distinguished by accuracy and critical acumen, and Professor Cassuto has a gift for crystallizing in a phrase the salient qualities of an author.

While a student of history and belles-lettres may regret the disproportionate emphasis laid upon the *Hālākhāh* in the post-biblical literature of the Jews, one cannot but admire that continuity of tradition in their cultural history which no persecution could wholly destroy. How successfully on the whole Hebrew adjusted itself to new uses and developments! In the enrichment of the Hebrew language and literature the Jews of Italy and its dominions played a notable part. Influenced by the Renaissance, they imparted a note of elegance and urbanity to the more austere traditions of Hebrew letters.

We hope that the author, now happily transferred to the more congenial atmosphere of the University of Jerusalem, will give us one day the long-wanted magistral history of Hebrew literature.

An apology is tendered to him for the long delay, due to various causes, in the appearance of this review.

J. LEVEEN.

Biblical Archæology

SUMERISCHE EN BABYLONISCHE TEMPELBOUW. By TH. A. BUSINK.
Batavia : Noordhoff-Kolff N.V., 1940.

The object of this book is not merely to describe the chief religious buildings uncovered in ancient Mesopotamia, a useful summary, but to distinguish the elements in their plans and structures which can be ascribed to the various racial groups. The author emphasizes particularly what he calls the axis of the sanctuaries, i.e. the direction in which the divine image was approached, whether across a broad shallow room, down a narrow deep room, or by a turn to right or

left after entrance through one of the long sides : short axis, long axis, or crooked axis.

This distinction can without doubt be made. It is also true that the distribution of the long and short is (with some exceptions) north and south respectively. But the author's thesis is the Sumerian origin of the "crooked axis". To prove this would require proof of what specifically the Sumerians introduced and when, assuming that they were immigrants in times visible to us. But whereas the only sure criterion of what is Sumerian is the language, the arguments summarized on p. 21 depend upon a series of further assumptions of what is "Sumerian" in material objects. So impracticable, indeed, is the task of labelling this or that thing as "Sumerian" or "Akkadian" that the author has to bring in a "Native" element which ends by absorbing the greater part of the matter available. The candour of p. 15 may be enough for the reader, but does not seem to dismay the author, whose passion for analysis even leads him to inform us, on p. 70, that in the ziggurat of Ur, for instance, the "monumental sense" is native and the "accentuation of the masses" is Sumerian.

For brevity a few bare remarks conclude. Cylinder-seals were used before the Jemdet-Nasr period (p. 33); the description "Early Dynastic" is to be preferred, as corresponding with definite historical information and making no needless assumptions (p. 39 f.); there is nothing to suggest that Kur-Lil (if the complete figure be his) was a "bouwmeester" (p. 44). Lastly, some of the plans at the end of the book are without orientation.

B. 743.

C. J. GADD.

India

MOTHER-RIGHT IN INDIA. By Baron OMAR EHRENFELS. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8$. pp. xi + 229. Hyderabad : Government Central Press, 1941.

This is a most interesting attempt to classify the population of India on a basis of culture development. It contains a map showing the distribution of matriarchy and totemism, based on a close study of Census Reports and numerous ethnographical works, particularly those relating to Southern India. Bombay and the North-west seem to have been overlooked, especially in the references to Marāthas and Lingāyats, who might well have been more fully dealt with.

The writer has developed an interesting classification of the

population briefly designated as U., PAR, PUL, and NAY. The last, based on the well known Nayar caste of Madras, is shown in many respects to resemble the culture aspects of the Indus civilization as described by Sir John Marshall. The writer touches on the vexed question whether the Indus valley civilization was immigrant or emigrant, without arriving at a definite conclusion. Some daring assumptions are made which seem to require additional evidence before they are accepted. The book is cleverly suggestive, if not wholly convincing. The writer seems to have overlooked the obvious explanation of the custom of hypergamy, as set forth in the Hindu sacred writings. This criticism applies also to his attempts to explain *sati*. The dating of mother-right as antecedent to totemism seems to require much justification. But this is a work well worthy of the attention of all students of India.

In addition to numerous misprints, a slip of the printers in placing p. 223 of the Index on p. 224 and vice versa has escaped correction.

B. 738.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

A GRAMMAR OF THE OLDEST KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS. By A. N. NARASIMHIA. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxi + 375. Mysore : University of Mysore, 1941. Rs. 2.12.0.

This work was presented in 1933 as a thesis for the Ph.D. degree of the London University. But it contains too many imperfections to justify publication as the inaugurating volume of the Mysore University's series of Studies in Dravidian philology.

Part I A should have been omitted. The valuable part of it relates to a period outside the sixth and seventh centuries, and the history of OKan. *p* has already been published in *BSOS.*, viii, 673-680. Part I B is the Grammar proper. The texts on which it is based are insufficient, so that on far too many pages the words "No examples" appear. This could have been remedied by including inscriptions of the eighth century, which provide a variety of epigraphs, not only of the Western Cālukyas and Alupas, but of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Gaṅgas, and Vāṇas (Bāṇa).

There are too many Jain epitaphs (fifty-five out of sixty-eight epigraphs). They are all undated and, although assigned by E. P. Rice to c. A.D. 700, may range over the century on either side of that date. Many are too fragmentary, e.g. No. 2, or too short, e.g. No. 49.

Some comparison with the forms in the ninth century Kavirā-jamārgga, and in the tenth century campu, Pampa Bhārata, would have been of value, as these sources are not used by Kittel.

The serial numbers in the list of inscriptions, pp. xvi-xviii, do not correspond with those of Part II. Nos. 37a and 45a are wanting, and 40a is 41 in Part II. The Index follows the numeration of the list, not of Part II. The Index is Part III A and is really a Glossary. Owing to the fragmentation of many texts it contains many words of which either the meaning or grammar is uncertain. Actual misinterpretations are few. But *irelpattaruḷam* cannot mean "140 years" (pp. 237, 286, where *-aruḷam* is wrongly printed *-aruḷam*). There is no word *aruḷam*, year. The true meaning is "in (the district of) the Twice Seventy (villages)", *-ar-* being the special oblique suffix of numerals (Kittel, *Gram.*, p. 61).

Pūniruva cannot be read *pūniruva* or divided *pūni iruva* to mean "that have undertaken" (pp. 207, 319). Fleet, who first suggested the translation, did so only as a *pis aller*. The correct division is *pū niruva* "who fix or arrange flowers". *Niru* is still transitive in Tamil, but the late Kan. word is *nirisu*.

The etymological notes might have been much curtailed. S.v. *araddha-vīsadi*, *vīsa* "one-sixteenth" can hardly be derived from Skt. *viṃśa* "twenty".

Part III contains, among other Appendices, an excellent short note on prosody (App. III). In Part II only is the proof-reading beyond reproach, except that *ś* is printed as *ś*, *ṣ*, or *s*'.

B. 744.

ALFRED MASTER.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY IN MYSORE. By M. N. SRINIVAS. 8½ × 5½, pp. 218. Bombay: New Book Co., 1942. Rs. 7.8.

This book contains in brief a great deal of information drawn from such well-known works as Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* and Ananth Krishna Ayer's *Tribes and Castes of Mysore*. The author omits all but a passing reference to the important Lingāyat community. And it would have been of interest to find evidence of the extent to which the twelfth century reformation of Basava has succumbed in the course of centuries to the influence of orthodox Hindu environment.

Perhaps the writer hardly allows sufficiently for the spirit-scaring origin of many of the rites which he attempts to explain, as for instance, the third marriage to a tree or other object, after the death

of two wives ; not does he assist to elucidate the puzzling rites of the *cowade*.

Useful information on the subject of *Kula* exogamy is given (p. 32 et seq.) and the terminology and restrictions of family organization are thoroughly examined. It is to be hoped that the author will continue his researches.

Through some curious error, nearly every page reference in the index is incorrect. The well-known *Suvāsini* or "happily married woman" is described throughout as a *sumangali*, a term not used in other parts of India. A glossary of vernacular terms would have been useful for many.

B. 747.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE WORLD TO-DAY: INDIA. By J. A. RAHMAN. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 119. Oxford University Press, 1942. Price 3s. 6d.

This is a pleasant little book, well shaped and well printed, light to hold and light to read. A large part of it is, as might be expected, devoted to the political problems of the hour, and there is a convention that members of our Society, *as such*, do not trouble themselves with such matter ; but trespassers on this sphere of thought will find in this book an admirable first-hand stock of recent development which throws light on events up to the summer of 1942.

There are also chapters in the book on the several characteristics of India, as seen from the point of view of the modern Indians, and on the general history of the country ; all of which are written in an attractive style. It is delightful to find the difficult task of "compressing" history undertaken not as gazetteer-writing, but as journalism, and good journalism at that. The professional historian could no doubt pick holes here and there (he would wonder, for instance, how even the briefest chapter on "Britain and India" could be written without mentioning "Warren Hastings"), but for arresting the attention of the man in the street and providing a bright outline of events in the minimum of space, the book before us should prove eminently successful. Take, for instance, the chapter entitled "The First Four Thousand Years" which begins as follows :—

"In India some 4,500 years ago you could have rented a self-contained flat or apartment with bathroom and kitchen attached, and a separate staircase from the street. The burnt brick

house of your choice would have had ample doors and windows, and may have been two or more storeys high. Water was not 'laid on', but you could draw it from your own filter-well just outside, and, eminently practical detail, a chute from the tiled kitchen took the rubbish straight down to the street bin at the back."

And then in eighteen small pages we get the high lights of all Indian History from Mohenjodaro to Aurangzeb.

E. D. MACLAGAN.

Islam

THE SOURCES OF ARABIAN MUSIC. By HENRY GEORGE FARMER.
10 × 7½, pp. 97, ill. 5. Issued privately by the author. Bearsden, Scotland, 1940.

This book marks a new and important phase in the development of Arab bibliography. Its nature is summarized in the sub-title: An annotated bibliography of Arabic manuscripts which deal with the theory, practice, and history of Arabian music. An original feature of the catalogue is the inclusion of the names of authors and works known only from references in other sources. The bibliography is arranged chronologically, and has notes on editions and translations.

There is a fundamental weakness in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, which goes far to outweigh its many solid merits. Bibliography has become a very specialist art, and the time has passed when a single scholar could aim at covering the whole range of Arabic literature with equal expertness. Dr. Farmer has shown us the right way, and it is much to be hoped that his example will be followed by specialists in other branches.

Some 300 separate titles of books are listed, the authors ranging from the middle of the eighth to the end of the seventeenth century. The indices are well-arranged and copiously cross-referenced. The book is "dedicated by gracious permission to his august Majesty Fāruq King of Egypt the Protector of Art and Letters"; it is an appropriate tribute to the worthy son of a worthy father.

A. J. ARBERY.

AISHAH: THE BELOVED OF MOHAMMED. By NABIA ABBOTT.
University of Chicago Press. pp. xi + 230, pl. 1, 1942. \$2.50.

For a book which sets out to be history, the title is bad, and the opening words of the preface, "Mohammed, the prayerful and perfumed prophet" are worse. The summary on the dust cover is wrong, for the author has not weeded out all the fiction, and Aishah did not play a major part in history for fifty years. The fact is that not much is known about her except at one or two critical periods; what is known of her normal life might have been told of any young wife with an elderly husband. To make a book, Miss Abbott has retold much of the internal history of early Islam, and most incidents end lamely with the statement that Aishah's share in the event or feeling towards it is not known. Miss Abbott makes the siege of 'Uthmān's house last some weeks, though the stories told about it suggest a duration of days only. There is one mistake of translation; the letter, which was the occasion of the murder of 'Uthmān, was carried in a metal container in a water-skin, not in an inkwell. At that date the presence of an inkwell in the baggage of one who was making a forced march, would have aroused suspicion. Phrases like, "who had protested Sa'id's government of the city to 'Uthmān," and "to order her sold" are quaint to English ears.

A. S. TRITTON.

İSLÂM ANSIKLOPEDI. 4-6 Cilt (Akide-Arabistan), 1941-42.
İstanbul, Maarif Matbaası.

In the midst of a war for freedom of religion and for all that Christian Europe and the Muslim world mean by civilization, it is peculiarly appropriate that a complete Turkish translation should be appearing of that international monument to Muslim culture, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. And the fact that the Romanized alphabet is now employed is a reminder that Turkey still stands like Byzantium as a centre of Western and Eastern learning. The value of such a work for Turkish scholarship and thought must be incalculable. The typography and format are a credit to Istanbul.





Masterpieces of Oriental Art

BY DORA GORDINE (THE HON. MRS. RICHARD HARE)

(PLATES III AND IV)

Unless the past can be correlated with the present, it is dead and the present suffers from want of a tradition. Hence the need for the critic to define in the language of his age the value of bygone art for his generation. The Society therefore is fortunate when a contemporary artist of distinction has consented to select and comment on a series of Oriental masterpieces to be reproduced in this Journal. Examples of art's failures will also be included because the untrained eye will hardly appreciate to the full the qualities of the great, unless it can see it beside the inferior and have flaws contrasted with excellence. "Art must never be a statement, always an evocation," and no artists have ever aimed at that ideal more consistently than the artists of Asia.—R. O. W.

IV

A YAKSHI UNDER A TREE

Thirteenth Century, from Konarka in Orissa

(For archæological and bibliographical references see *Asiatische Plastik*, Sammlung Baron Edward von der Heydt, Berlin, 1932.)

IN this superb thirteenth-century masterpiece from Orissa two of the canons of architecture are triumphantly fulfilled; the canon requiring that proportion of details to the whole which is achieved only by supreme art, and the canon so often neglected by Rodin that a sculptor's hand ought to be subdued to the medium in which it works. The lower part of this swaying figure corresponds in proportion and rhythm to the upper, the volume of shoulders and bosom counterbalancing the weight of the hips. A tight and slender waist joins the two parts of the body as the shaft of a pillar joins capital and pediment with an austere economy of rhythmic lines. So far from being irrelevant excrescences unsuitable to representation in stone, jewellery and drapery have the function of underlining with their harder shadows and eliciting the warmth and delicacy of flesh over which without concealing its texture the almost transparent drapery flows, following the movement of the body. The buckle of the belt divides and contracts the width of the hips, while below over the thighs the drapery again becomes diaphanous

and clinging to the delicately modelled limbs hangs down in contrast to the upturning circles of the garment above the waist.

As a frame for the half-bent head and column-like shoulders there is an arching branch heavy with summer foliage that serves to emphasize the vibrating life of the body and relate it to its surroundings. Imagine for contrast the disharmony of a leafless fragile bough cut in the massive medium of stone. In unity of conception and adaptation to material lies the perfection of sculpture.

"The beauty of a fugue," it has been said, "consists partly of the significance of its theme, partly of the closeness of its texture, partly of the harmonious intertwine of its constituent voices." Here in this sculpture is music vibrating seven centuries after the sound of the mason's chisel has ceased. In the texture of the work there is no superfluous detail. In the head as in the body the creator has mingled in absolute accord the joy and pensiveness of a being "sad with the whole of pleasure". The nostrils are dilated with emotion, the eyes large and sensitive are full of languorous dreams, and the mouth is richly curved and sensuous, though the corners of the lips are smiling. In spite of the enigmatic variety of expression on the features, the face blends to a harmonious whole and is united to the body in a serenity of profound and integrated feeling.

III

ASURA OF THE EIGHT DEVAS

(In coloured lacquer, 1 m. high. From the Nara Museum in Kohukuji. Ascribed to Ogawa Seiyo. Eighth century A.D. Tempyo period.)

It is by accident and not from design that my first example of a failure in Asiatic art happens to be Japanese. The art of Japan was once described by Ruskin as "the glorification of ugliness and artificiality", and early as this figure purports to be, it is a piece that bears loud testimony to the correctness of Ruskin's judgment. Failures though they are, Myron's restless Discobolos and Bourdelle's spiky Herakles are the failures of great and consistent art seduced by technique. But in this incongruous Japanese figure stylization clashes with realism and the technique is puerile. The stylized body is as stiff and angular as a cistern, and the six arms, utterly devoid of plastic quality, issue from it like water-pipes. The sugary face is startlingly realistic, and so is the flowery skirt.

The Common Classical Sources of Buddhist and Christian Narrative Art

By H. BUCHTHAL

(PLATES V-XIV)

(The Summary of a Lecture given on 11th February, 1943,
under the joint auspices of the Royal Asiatic and
India Societies)

THE Greco-Buddhist sculpture of Gandhara has for a long time been of singular attraction for students of Indian art. These sculptures of greyish-blue schist found in such quantities in the inaccessible valleys of the Indo-Afghan frontier, have from the outset been noted for their classical affinities, and many were brought to Europe by art-loving dilettanti. The particular qualities distinguishing them from all other Indian sculpture were duly extolled; they came to be recognized as the earliest examples of new ideas which changed the whole development of Indian art and propagated Western influence throughout the Buddhist world. But the rôle so enthusiastically assigned to them has not remained unchallenged. A younger generation, more eager to discover the truly national qualities of the arts of Asia, maintained that the only reason for this admiration was that on account of their Greek affinities the Gandhara sculptures were less strange to Europeans than Asiatic art proper. They considered Greco-Buddhist sculpture a weak and provincial offshoot of Western art, without much influence in the East, and for the most part of a quality which could not compete with the broad current of the Indian tradition. Even those iconographical innovations with which the sculptors of Gandhara had generally been credited, such as the creation of the Buddha image, were attributed by these scholars to other and more "national" schools. To this day no satisfactory solution of the problem has come forward.

The frieze of the Great Renunciation from the eastern gate of the Great Stupa at Sanchi (Pl. V) is a typical example of Buddhist iconography in its early stages.¹ The Buddha, accompanied by his faithful servant, leaves his father's palace. His horse is carried in solemn procession by a number of gods who help the

¹ Cf. Gruenwedel-Waldschmidt, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, Berlin, 1932, p. 68, fig. 77; Sir John Marshall and A. Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Calcutta, 1940, p. 203, pl. 40.

prince to pass unnoticed through the strongly guarded city gate. The architecture of the city, the dress and attributes of the human figures are accurately described. The horse is shown five times in the different stages of the journey, which serves to emphasize the continuity of the action and to render the narrative vivid and impressive. But the presence of the Buddha is indicated by the traditional symbols only: the royal umbrella above the horse while he is on horseback, the footsteps when he has dismounted.

A sculpture in the Calcutta Museum shows the same subject represented by Gandhara artists¹ (Pl. VI). One scene has replaced the sequence of episodes at Sanchi. The impression of universal movement and continuity has disappeared; the single human figure has assumed a prominence unknown in the earlier cycle. We are presented with a dry statement of facts. The Buddha himself is shown riding on his horse, his right hand raised; the servant holds the royal umbrella behind him with a protective gesture. Yet most of the elements of the early Buddhist version are still present: in accordance with the literary tradition, the horse is carried by deities who support his hoofs in order to avoid noise, and a host of smaller gods and devas accompany the Buddha on his mission.

Students of Early Christian art will recognize the similarity between this scene and Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, as represented on Roman sarcophagi of the fourth century² (Pl. VII, fig. 1). All the main elements of the Buddhist work recur in the Christian composition: Christ is mounted, raising his right hand; the bearded apostle behind him lifts his arm with a protective gesture. Zachaeus takes the place of the figure above the Buddha's servant. The deities carrying the horse's front hoofs should be compared with the children spreading their clothes in the way.

The Buddhist sculpture and the Christian sarcophagus cannot be directly dependent on each other. If related in any way they must derive from a common model, a Western work of the first centuries of our era. The group which forms the chief subject of both sculptures occurs indeed on Roman Imperial coins of the second and third centuries (Pl. VII, fig. 2). The type is used for the adventus of the emperor, i.e. his triumphal entry into a town,

¹ W. Cohn, *Indische Plastik*, Berlin, 1921, fig. 1; N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, ii, Delhi, 1937, pl. 8a.

² Ch. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, fig. 139.

and for the *profectio*, i.e. his triumphal departure.¹ He is shown on horseback; on the *adventus* coin he raises his right hand; on the *profectio* coin the figure in front of the horse turns towards the rider; and the *pedisequus* behind raises his standard with a protective gesture. It is evident that this type has been used for both the Christian and the Buddhist triumphal scenes. Only a minimum of changes was necessary to adapt it to the Buddhist and Christian requirements. It is interesting to observe how in the Buddhist sculpture the Roman elements are combined with those retained from the early iconography of the subject.

In India the iconographical type of the Great Renunciation, as evolved for the first time in the art of Gandhara, soon became universal. The school of Amaravati, for instance, now produced a work which, though in a completely different artistic tradition, is in all its material details a faithful repetition of the Gandharan formula.² This break with the traditional repertoire has been effected under the influence of Roman Imperial art.

I have shown elsewhere³ that the creation of the Buddha image stands at the beginning of this development, and was the earliest sign of Roman influence in India. Peaceful contact between Rome and the East was one of the foremost aims of Imperial trade policy. From the middle of the first century A.D. political conditions favoured the use of the overland route from the eastern Mediterranean via Palmyra, which was the shortest connection between Rome and India⁴; and as this route gained in importance the people in the Indus countries became acquainted with the products of Roman art. The cult image of the standing Buddha was created after the pattern of an early Imperial toga statue; that of its sitting counterpart followed soon afterwards. Both cult images originated shortly before the reign of Kanishka (second quarter of the second century A.D.), who reproduced them on his coins. All subsequent development of the school is based on this

¹ Cf. Stevenson-Smith-Madden, *Dictionary of Roman Coins*, 1889, s.v. *Adventus* and *Profectio Augusti*; on the history of the type, cf. D. E. L. Haynes, *Mors in Victoria*, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 15, 1939, pp. 27 ff., pls. 1, 2.

² Cf. W. Cohn, op. cit., pl. 17; L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, 1929, pl. 128.

³ "The Foundations for a Chronology of Gandhara Sculpture," in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 19, in the press 1943.

⁴ E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 85 ff.

innovation. It was the decisive factor in the formation of narrative religious art in Buddhist countries, and led to the emergence of an epic cycle, modelled on Western lines, depicting the outstanding events of the Buddha's life.

The origin of these cycles was similar to that of the earliest cycles of the life of Christ. A large number of scenes had to be illustrated which, because of the absence of the Buddha image in earlier days, had hitherto been represented in a very different way, or had never been illustrated at all. When the young Christian community was faced with a similar task, they adopted traditional types in current use with the people among whom they lived.¹ Figural types, groups, and compositions taken from Greek and Roman mythology, and other classical subjects were transformed into Christian scenes and given a new religious meaning; and as the worship and symbolism formerly connected with the emperor were now transferred to Christ, scenes of Imperial triumph found a prominent place in Christian iconography.² Nor was there a sudden and definite break in the stylistic field. The forms of expression and the technique of the earliest Christian monuments are those normally used by local artists throughout the Roman Empire. Only at a much later date, when Christianity had been firmly established in the Western world, there emerged an art of specifically Christian character.³

A similar development can be traced in the narrative Buddhist cycles. Just as the entry of Christ into Jerusalem shows the Roman triumphal scene transformed into a Christian subject, the representation of the Great Renunciation shows its adaptation by Buddhism. Still more characteristic examples for this Roman infiltration into the north-west border-country can be found among subjects which had hitherto not been represented in Buddhist art, especially certain scenes in which the presence of the Buddha in human form was indispensable. It is significant that in Gandhara these scenes became all the more popular.

Pls. VIII, fig. 1, and IX, fig. 1, show an identical pictorial type used for two different subjects. One is a Jataka illustration, in which the Buddha is not the historical Gautama, but Dipankara, the earliest of his twenty-four predecessors; the other illustrates an

¹ E. Kitzinger, *Early Medieval Art in the British Museum*, London, 1940, pp. 2 ff.

² A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'Art byzantin*, Paris, 1936, p. 31 ff.

³ W. Weisbach, *Geschichtliche Voraussetzungen der Entstehung einer christlichen Kunst*, Basel, 1937, p. 9 f.

episode of Gautama's later life: the conversion of Angulimalya. In both sculptures the central group is practically the same: the standing Buddha and the prostrate figure in front of him. Neither of these scenes occurs in earlier Buddhist art. This makes it all the more probable that the group was introduced from outside, and in both cases adapted to the particular requirements of the story. The closest parallel can be found in Early Christian book-illustration. It occurs, for instance, in the Codex Rossanensis, a Greek Gospel of the sixth century, in a miniature representing the raising of Lazarus; the dead man's two sisters lie prostrate on the ground before the Saviour¹ (Pl. VIII, fig. 2). Again, there can be no question of direct copying one way or another. It is to a classical formula that both the Buddhist and Christian works should be traced back. It is true that the Proskynesis, i.e. the prostration before a god or a hero, was a custom unknown to classical antiquity, and is not found on Imperial monuments until it was introduced into the Mediterranean world from the East during the later centuries of the Empire.² But the prostrate figure does occur in Roman triumphal art. The vanquished enemy lies in the dust before the victor. A representation of this scene occurs on a frieze dating from the time of Trajan, i.e. the early second century A.D., and showing a victory of the Romans over the Daces³ (Pl. XIV). The barbarian under the emperor's horse lies on the ground in exactly the same position as the women in the Christian miniature, and the student and the ascetic in the Buddhist sculptures. Again a figure type taken from the repertory of Roman Imperial art has been adopted by both Buddhist and Christian artists for representing religious subjects in which the hero takes the place of the Roman emperor.

One more point of similarity with Christian monuments is worth noting. Although it appears only once, the Buddha figure in the Conversion of Angulimalya actually belongs to two distinct scenes: the attack of the murderer and his subsequent humiliation. The same scheme occurs in East Christian miniatures, for instance, in the Rotulus of Joshua, a tenth-century copy of an original five

¹ Cf. H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'Art byzantin*, ii, 1934, pl. 148, 149.

² Cf. A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," in *Roem. Mitteilungen*, 49, 1934, pp. 46 ff.

³ This frieze makes now part of the decoration of the Arch of Constantine. Cf. H. P. L'Orange and A. v. Gerkan, *Der späetantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens*, Berlin, 1939, pl. 49.

or more centuries older. Joshua, the hero of the story, meets the Angel of the Lord: first he challenges him, then, recognizing his heavenly nature, he falls to the ground in adoration¹ (Pl. IX, fig. 2). The Angel, who is represented only once, in fact participates in both scenes which show a single continuity of action in two successive phases. Both the Christian and the Buddhist works are striking examples of the survival and identical use of the continuous method of representation—an innovation evolved in Roman Imperial art and best studied on monuments like Trajan's Column and Roman mythological sarcophagi.²

Pl. X, figs. 1 and 2, show another impressive example of the parallel development of Christian and Gandharan iconography. The Gandhara sculpture represents three scenes from the life of the Buddha; the Christian ivory diptych, a work of the fifth century, shows in a similar arrangement three New Testament scenes.³ The style of the Indian work is so much more lively and illusionistic that it seems to derive directly from a classical model of the first centuries; the Christian artists of the fifth, however, presumably had some intermediate stage before them. Continuous copying of the prototype must have resulted in a hardening and stiffening of the figures, and much of the illusionistic modelling must have been lost in the process. The common pagan prototype, however, is still easily recognizable in both monuments.

What this common prototype was, and to which mythological group it belonged, I cannot tell. It is just possible that it was part of the liturgical cycle of one of the mystery religions which were so powerful during the last centuries of the classical world and must have formed an important link between late antique and Early Christian pictorial art. The general arrangement, in any case, is common in the art of the Roman Empire, and especially in the provinces. The arrangement of square fields, one above the other, each containing one or two single figures, for instance, occurs frequently on monuments found in Gaul⁴ (Pl. XI, figs. 1 and 2). In Gandhara, we can observe this motive gradually growing more Indian and assuming a shape and rhythm more and more removed

¹ Cf. Morey, *op. cit.*, fig. 58.

² F. Wickhoff, *Roemische Kunst*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 123 ff.; cf. also H. Koch *Roemische Kunst*, Breslau, 1925, p. 71 f.

³ Cf. M. H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory* (in the Victoria and Albert Museum), Part I, London, 1927, pl. 8.

⁴ Cf. *Germania Romana*, 2nd ed., part 4, 1928, pl. 9, 2.

from the original model. Finally, it is used as a decorative frame for works which consist of one or several reliefs with scenes from the Buddha's life, one on top of the other, in the form of a flat stele.¹

A similar complicated scheme is found all over the Roman Empire from the first century A.D. onwards in monuments of the Mithraic cult. In the centre there is Mithra killing the bull, a scene which should be taken both as an epic narrative and as a representative cult-image.² Around this image there are small scenes from the god's life—a veritable *vita* of the god, comprising the whole *credo* of the Mithraic religion. These reliefs seem to reflect compositions of the type of the Tabula Iliaca, which show the Iliupersis in the centre and a number of smaller single scenes grouped around it. The Tabula Iliaca was probably the archetype of all such group compositions, which in course of time was adjusted to fit a number of other subjects.³ The original composition has been attributed to Asia Minor, and this makes the connection between the Gandhara sculptures and the classical monuments even more probable.

Another decorative pattern common in the art of Gandhara is the frieze consisting of rows of single figures, or sometimes of simple ornamental motives, each under a pointed Indian arch (Pl. XII). In most instances the arches, with bunches of grapes hanging down on both sides, are suspended in mid-air; but occasionally they rise straight from the ground. The balls on which they sometimes rest can reasonably be taken as substitutes for the grapes which had originally a definite symbolical meaning. The figures and arches are separated from each other by the characteristic Indo-Corinthian columns surmounted by Persepolitan capitals. This kind of frieze is typical of the later stages of the Gandhara school. Generally it shows merely the unaccentuated repetition of the same figures, but sometimes they form a symmetrical pattern, for instance when approaching a central Buddha image from both sides.

The decorative system of these friezes seems to derive from an earlier type of frieze frequent in Gandhara. The general arrangement is very similar, though the proportions and the rhythm are different. The motive of two persons in discussion, for instance, is repeated several times, each couple under the pointed arch, and

¹ Cf. A. Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, i, 1905, fig. 225.

² F. Saxl, *Mithras*, Berlin, 1931, fig. 83.

³ Saxl, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.

separated by the usual column (Pl. XIII, fig. 1). But the arches neither stop in mid-air nor do they rest on the ground, as in the later examples. They are supported by structures faintly recalling carved classical columns. The sculptural background might well stand for an apsidal niche. The later friezes which we have already discussed were developed out of this scheme: first the structural function of the columns supporting the arches was gradually obliterated; then the columns were omitted. Ultimately the arch, more pointed in shape and more Indian in feeling, rises straight from the ground.

This earlier type of frieze is indeed derived from Roman sarcophagi. It is true that certain single features connect these works with the native Indian tradition, for instance, the pointed arches which repeat the form used in the façades of Buddhist rock-cut temples and caves. For its general arrangement, however, our frieze should be compared with pagan and Early Christian sarcophagi (Pl. XIII, figs. 2 and 3). A sarcophagus of the Muses,¹ for instance, which belongs to the Asiatic type usually called Sidamara, is clearly of the kind from which both the Christian² and the Buddhist works are derived. The pair of Muses on the left resemble in every gesture and movement the first couple on the Indian frieze. The carved columns of the Sidamara and the Christian examples are reflected in the ornament which appears in the same place in the Buddhist frieze; the Gandhara arches repeat the pattern seen on the pagan sarcophagus. The Christian monument even has the apsidal niches which we recognized in the Indian work. The grapes, here lacking on the pagan sarcophagus, are certainly a classical heritage; they occur frequently on sarcophagi and related monuments of Dionysiac origin.³ The main difference is the introduction of the Indo-Corinthian columns. This results in a slightly different spacing and prevents that impression of overcrowding so characteristic of the group of Asiatic sarcophagi.

Our method throughout this article has been purely archæological. We have found some of the models of Gandhara art in Imperial Roman triumphal and funerary sculpture. The adaptation of the Roman types was the one contribution of the North-West to the

¹ Sardis, vol. 5, part 1; Ch. R. Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi*, Princeton, 1924, fig. 90.

² Peirce and Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, i, 1932, pl. 94 a.

³ G. Rodenwaldt, "Sarkophag-Miszellen," in *Archæologischer Anzeiger*, 1938, col. 400 f.; K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, 1942, p. 47.

art of India, and in fact to universal Buddhism. The eager acceptance of the Buddha image by the whole Buddhist world is a convincing proof of this.

But as these monuments are primarily of a religious nature, it is obviously necessary to link up the results we have obtained with the history of the Buddhist religion. We have seen that the creation of the Buddha image was the earliest achievement of the Gandhara school. It is hard to believe that so revolutionary an act as the first anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha should not have had its counterpart in the development of Buddhist thought.

But this is not yet the time for a definite answer to this question. So far the texts preserved do not seem to point to an intimate connection between the innovations introduced by the Gandhara school and the evolution of Buddhist thought. The beginnings of the Gandhara school seem to be contemporary with the rise of the Mahayana, the new doctrine of salvation which, during the first centuries of our era, profoundly transformed the original ideas evolved by the early Buddhist schools. Direct evidence is still lacking, and the single stages of the early history of the Mahayana in its relation to the Hinayana are unknown to us. But in all probability the creation of the Buddha image is connected with a new conception of the divinity of the Blessed One as propagated by the Mahayanists.

The development of Christian art offers a close parallel. Here we are much better informed about the controversies which centred on the problem of whether Christ should be represented in person or not. The works of the early Fathers of the Church reflect in detail the theological background of the problem and the fierce discussions which took place before the human portrait of Christ became finally victorious over the symbolical representations of the Christian doctrine of salvation.¹ No doubt the Buddha image owes its origin to a similar development of religious ideas, and to a similar controversy on the divine nature of the historical Buddha; and it is to be hoped that one day we shall be able to trace this development in the literary sources of the period.

It remains to be explained why this decisive step was taken in Gandhara, in the extreme north-west of the country, in a province

¹ Cf. W. Elliger, *Die Stellung der alten Christen zu den Bildern in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten, nach den Angaben der zeitgenössischen kirchlichen Schriftsteller*, Leipzig, 1930.

which had played no conspicuous part in the earlier development of Indian art. The answer might perhaps be that Gandhara, by virtue of its geographical situation, was eminently qualified to play a double rôle in the history of Buddhism.¹ On the one hand, it was one of the most important provinces of the Kushan Empire which at that time extended over almost the whole of northern India; and the monks in its many monasteries had a large share in the formation of the Mahayana school of thought. It is perhaps significant that Asvagosha, the learned author of the *Buddhakaritha*, one of the oldest Books of the Mahayana,² is said to have been the spiritual adviser of the great Kanishka, who made Peshawar his winter capital, and was the first king to show the Buddha image on his coins. On the other hand, Gandhara had for centuries been the region of India most open to Western influences. In a way, it was the easternmost outpost of the Mediterranean world; and when at last Indian artists took the decisive step of representing the Buddha in human shape, a Mediterranean type eminently suitable was available in Gandhara but not in other parts of India.

Another point which might be explained through a study of the religious history of the period is the parallel development of the cycles depicting the lives of Christ and of the Buddha. We have seen that both were based on iconographic formulae evolved in Roman historical sculpture. The identical way of interpretation and adaptation of pagan prototypes for similar subjects in Buddhist and Christian art seems to suggest that certain Christian and Mahayanist ideas must have developed on similar lines. Though the Mahayana contains hardly anything of which traces cannot be discovered in some form or other in most earlier Buddhist writings known to us, it was not before the rise of this school that the Buddha became primarily a figure of pity and compassion, a hero of charity offering salvation to mankind. And it might well be this common conception of universal salvation which is ultimately responsible for the similarities in the narrative. On several instances we even meet exactly the same story in the Buddhist and Christian traditions, and it is clear that they have a very similar significance. Peter

¹ Cf. A. Foucher in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 6, s.v. Gandhara.

² Trans. by F. Max Mueller in vol. 49 of the *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford, 1894.

walking on the sea is paralleled by the story of the disciple who wanted to cross a large river to join the Buddha who was preaching on the other side.¹ He could not find a boat, but his longing to listen to the sermon was such that he started to cross the river on foot. He walked as on solid ground, but when he reached the middle of the river and saw enormous waves his enthusiasm began to wane, and his feet to sink. But his desire to be near the Buddha surged up again, and finally he was able to achieve his journey safely. The meaning of the story, of course, is the same as in the Gospel of Matthew. The faith in the Buddha and his excellence creates solid ground and is a promise of ultimate salvation for the believer even in the midst of the most deadly danger.

There is a number of other scenes,² such as the Temptation, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, and the Widow's Mite,³ which recur in a similar form in the Buddhist tradition. The exact age of these texts has never been definitely established. But it was Mahayana theology which handed them down to us and underlined the parabolic meaning that corresponds to their Christian parallels. Thus the illustrations of these stories reflect the significance they had assumed in the Mahayana system.

The narrative tradition adopted was that established in Imperial Roman times. With the development of religious ideas in late antiquity, this purely narrative style was used for scenes and cycles of symbolical content even in the art of Rome; and it reappears in the monuments of the various religious communities throughout the Roman world which took it over for representing the symbolism of their own doctrines of salvation. Not only the Mithraic cult but also Early Christian and Buddhist artists related the lives of their redeemers in the antique tradition.

It is the classical heritage which we have traced in the Gandharan and Christian religious cycles. We have seen how narrative religious art was created through the adaptation of foreign types and formulae, and how religious ideas new to the history of Buddhism were for the first time given artistic expression. But the underlying currents of Indian thought could only be intimated. It remains

¹ Cf. "Buddha und Jesus in ihren Paralleltexen," zusammengestellt von J. B. Aufhauser, Bonn, 1926 (*Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen u. Übungen*. 157), pp. 11-12.

² Cf. "Buddha und Jesus," op. cit., *passim*.

³ Cf. H. Haas, *Das "Scherflein der Witwe" und seine Entsprechung im Tripitaka*, Leipzig, 1922.

an urgent task to correlate the two in order to understand fully the place of the Gandhara school in the history of Buddhist art.

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE V

The Great Renunciation. Sanchi, Great Stupa.

PLATE VI

The Great Renunciation. Calcutta, Indian Museum.

PLATE VII

FIG. 1.—Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. Detail from a Roman sarcophagus. Rome, Lateran Museum.

FIG. 2.—Adventus and Profectio Augusti on Roman Imperial Coins.

PLATE VIII

FIG. 1.—Dipankara Jataka. Peshawar, Museum.

FIG. 2.—The Raising of Lazarus. Miniature from a Greek manuscript. Detail. Rossano, Cathedral.

PLATE IX

FIG. 1.—The Conversion of Angulimalya. Peshawar, Museum.

FIG. 2.—Joshua and the Angel of the Lord. Rome, Vatican, MS. Pal. Gr. 431.

PLATE X

FIG. 1.—Scenes from the Life of the Buddha. London, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 2.—Scenes from the Life of Christ. From an Ivory Diptych. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

PLATE XI

FIG. 1.—A Railing Jamb. Detail. Peshawar Museum.

FIG. 2.—Roman Sculpture found at Cologne.

PLATE XII

Ornamental Gandhara Panels from Jamalgarhi.

PLATE XIII

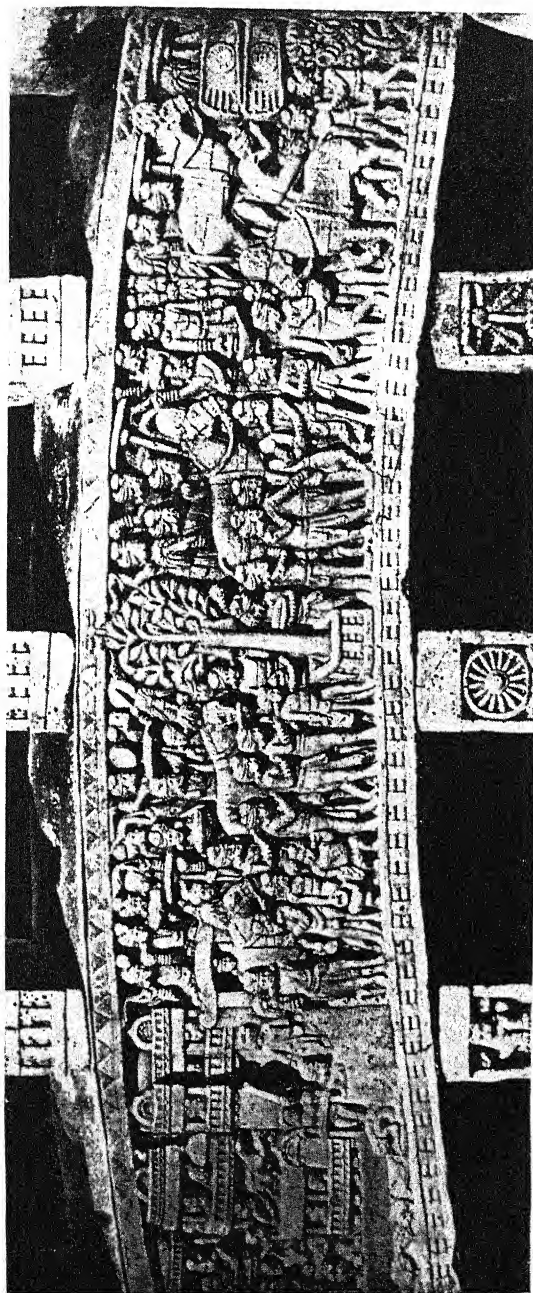
FIG. 1.—Gandhara Frieze. Lahore, Museum.

FIG. 2.—Fragment from a Sarcophagus of the Muses. London, British Museum.

FIG. 3.—Fragment from a Sarcophagus with couples of Apostles. Lyons, Museum.

PLATE XIV

Battle between Romans and Daces. Rome, Arch of Constantine.



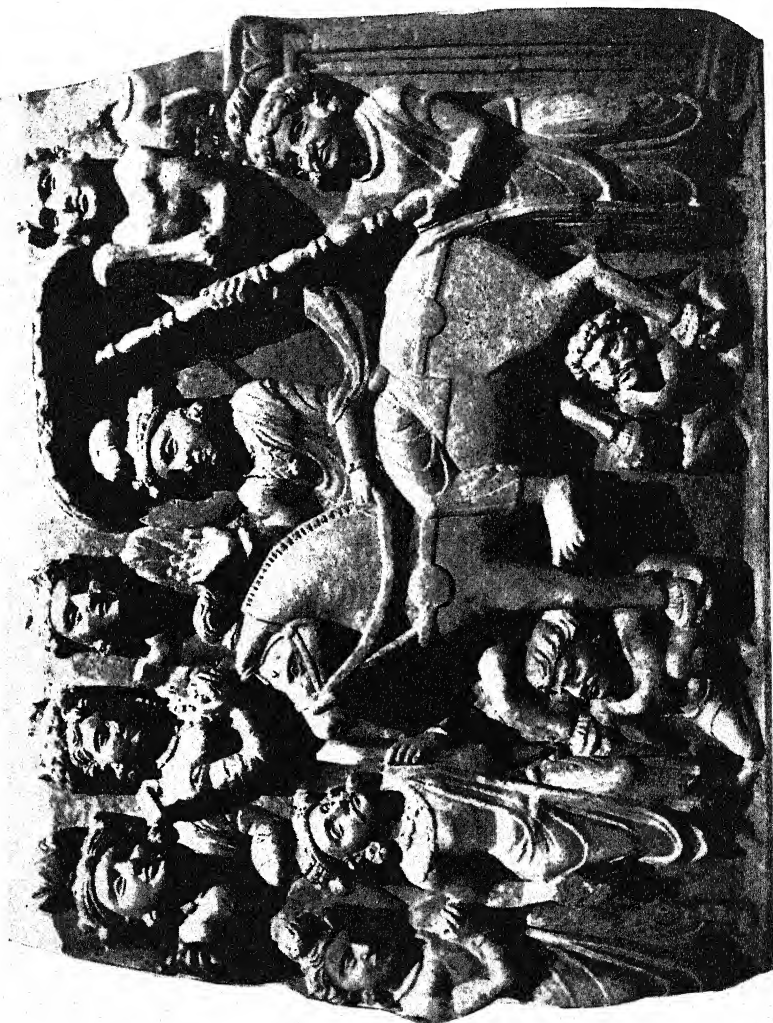




FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



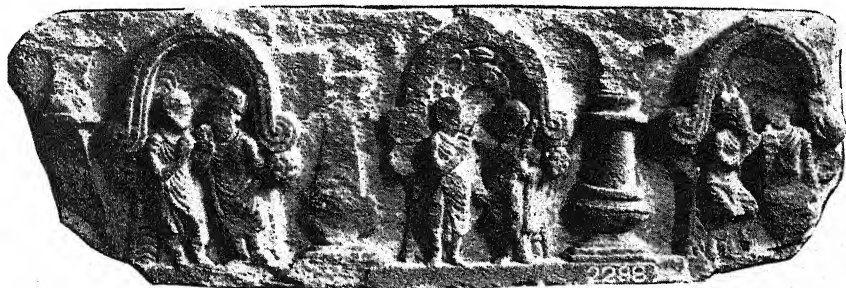


FIG. 1.

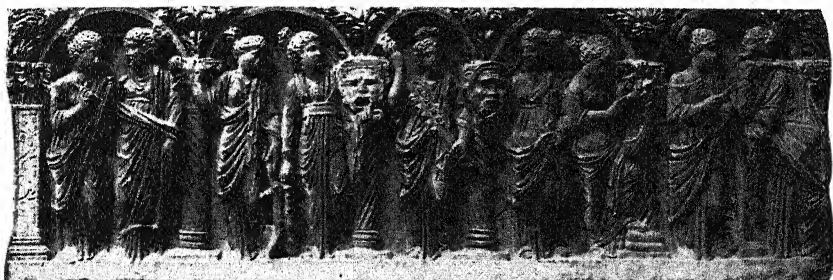


FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



A Mandæan Book of Black Magic

TRANSLITERATED AND TRANSLATED BY E. S. DROWER.

IT is unfortunate that I have no copy of this interesting book that is complete or in good condition. I possess a broken remnant (D.C. 45 of my collection of MSS.), blotted, dog-eared, and often illegible, and a book of excerpts copied by a priest in Baghdad. The latter (D.C. 46) is extremely incorrect. Besides these, I have borrowed and transliterated pages from another fragmentary loose-leaved copy, brittle with age. All these manuscripts were illiterate and corrupt, each talisman displayed variations due to miscopying or miscomprehension, so that originally identical texts showed considerable differences. A dictionary-maker, however, may neglect no text, however corrupt, and although the illiteracy of scribes has led me on many a wildgoose chase, the labour has been amply compensated.

The magic of this book I have termed "black", for the Mandæans themselves regard the book as *haršia bišia*, "evil magic." Some of it is ancient magic, ancient by tradition and use. Of such is the direction "take clay from the two river-paths" (i.e. from the two banks of a river), "and make therefrom two clay images." Professor Stephen Langdon (*Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, Philadelphia University Press, 1917, pp. 199-200) translates an incantation against wizards and witches in which occurs an instruction to make "an image of clay, of clay from the two river's banks". Nor is internal proof of the age of certain talismans missing: for instance, in the popular talisman for separating lovers, or parting husband and wife:—

In the name of the sundering angels! There shall be sundering of N. (woman) from N. (man). Sundered is Bel from Babylon, sundered Nebo from Borsippa, sundered is Nišra from Kaškar.

Babylon lies amidst its dust-heaps, Borsippa, now called Birs-Nimrud, only survives as a ruined pile, Kaškar already lay in ruins when the Arabs built their city of Wasit (itself now a ruin) in the year A.D. 83. Nišra is obviously a corruption: who was the patron god of Kaškar I know not.

Many of the talismans in the collection are in Arabic phonetically transliterated into Mandaic script. These I have not translated.

The collection may be divided roughly into groups.

- (a) Curative, and against the Evil Eye.
- (b) To induce pregnancy or protect the embryo.
- (c) Against enemies and demons.
- (d) To stop children from weeping.
- (e) To assist the fowler and fisherman.
- (f) Love-charms.
- (g) Jealousy-spells—as a rule associated with love-charms.

Occasionally the texts degenerate into gibberish which may or may not have meant something once upon a time. Invocations of angels, demons, and genii occur frequently, in this reminding one of the Jewish book of magic, "The Sword of Moses" (*The Sword of Moses: An Ancient Book of Magic*, M. Gaster. Nutt, 1896). The ineffable name Yahu is a word of power as in Jewish magic. Magical figures and images, similar to those traced in Mandæan magic bowls, occur often: some look like degenerate cuneiform, others like the human figures which a small child draws on its slate. These are copied by the magician with as much care as he bestows upon the text; I will not say "with as great a care", as transcription is often hurried and copyists notoriously inaccurate. For magic is a trade. Few of the magician's clients are literate enough to criticize what is written for them; indeed, only a minority are Mandæans, and Moslems, Jews, and Christians look upon incomprehensibility as part of the mystery of the spell. Of the Mandæans themselves, laymen who read and write the Mandaic script are rare, and even literates understand little of the written and classical Mandaic. The spoken dialect, or *raṭna*, is a debased jargon intermixed with foreign words.

I sometimes visit a small dark shop in the Baghdad bazaars. Its owner is a Mandæan priest who depends on magic for his livelihood. Clients slip in, one or two at a time, waiting outside to take their turn if they find the magician occupied with an earlier visitor. He sits on the floor, his ink-pot, sand-box, and reed-pen beside him. His stock-in-trade further comprises a box containing the book of black magic, other phylacteries written on scrolls of paper; bags containing sundry spices, herbs, or other substances necessary to ritual; a bench, carpet, and mattress for his customers. Here he sits the day long, his spectacles on his nose, his greying beard sweeping his white robe, his long hair tucked under his red-and-white head-kerchief, writing talismans and instructing customers

how they should be used, for to each talisman is appended instruction as to its use, just as a pharmacist writes on the label of a bottle of physic "to be taken in water three times daily". These directions are extremely varied. I append a few selected at random :

Write this for a woman who is not pregnant. Write and bury it at the outer door, so that the woman comes and goes (over it). Further, read this order thrice over sesame oil and give it to the woman and her man to drink.

This charm is a talisman. Write it in red ink and tie it to the legs of a she-goat. It is a love-charm for man and woman. There shall be solace.

Draw this figure in the sun and put oil of jasmine into it and bury it under a fire. This is a love-charm.

Write this charm upon a horseshoe and cast it into the fire. This is a love-charm.

This is a love-charm. Write on a strip (of cotton) and make into a wick and insert into a lamp. There will be relief and healing by the power of our lord.

Write this charm in the milk of a woman whose husband detests her. Write on paper and melt it off in water and give it to her husband to drink.

Read this charm over an egg dyed with saffron (*lbit maruqtia*) for three days—twenty-one times—and bury it in a place where no one sees it and the evil one will come out of his stomach.

This charm for coldness of heart write and melt off in water and give to the lover to drink.

Write this charm on the skin of a bitch and bring clay from the two river paths and make two images and put writing on one of them and bury it at his door. It is strong (the charm).

Read this charm over pitch seven times, smear it on the door of the woman and man, and it shall come to pass that they become estranged, through the power of our lord.

Inscribe this charm on the interior of a hollow basin in which there is no engraving; steep it in white sesame-oil and make drink of it the woman who does not get pregnant; she should drink it when her husband lies and sleeps with her. There will be healing from our lord, praised be his name.

The proof of a pudding is in the eating, and some talismans are more popular than others because clients have tested their efficacy and pronounced them to be powerful. A sick person cured in the course of nature, a successful lover, these correspond to the "grateful users" of patent medicines and spread the repute of both magician and charm. Small wonder that many of the magical formulae, like coins that pass from hand to hand, become defaced and worn in the course of centuries.

Of the talismans in the volume I offer here only a selection. Should I have the good fortune at some future date to come upon a

text more satisfactory than those I now possess, a complete version might be justified. I have not attempted to correct the texts transliterated below: though occasionally I have inserted an obvious reading in brackets. I have, however, selected from the three manuscripts the likeliest version. Moreover, scribes throughout employ the illiterate *h* for the plural *ia*—the pronunciation is the same. This I venture to remedy. Otherwise the texts are presented in all their corruption: would that it were otherwise! As regards my translations, I fear that I have often sacrificed good English in the effort to be as literal as possible. To translate freely would have been comparatively easy: but accuracy suffers thereby.

TRANSLATIONS

I. Curative and Against the Evil Eye

1.

In the name of the Great Life! There shall be healing for N. from burning fever and malady and disease and the Evil and the Dimmed Eye. And there shall be health for N. Amen, amen selah. S—a. Write this talisman, melt it in water and give it to the fevered person to drink.

2.

Depart and be scared away, Evil Eye and withered eye and discharging eye and eye with cataract and darkened eye and reddened eye and eye that comes and eye that goes, and discharging eye and inflamed eye and eye directed to the heavens, and squeezed-out eye, and killing and dying. Like a yoke thou art lifted off and departest from my body and spirit and soul and my trunk and my stature and all my fabric, and (from) my wife, and my sons, and my daughters, mine, N. son of N.¹ Amen, amen selah. S—a. A spell for eye complaint (closed vision) . . . (protects) a child from the Evil Eye. Tie on with thy right hand: there will be relief and healing by the strength of our lord. S—a.

3.

Magically bound are devils and *šids*,² and groanings, discharges, and blemishes (?); bound is Pain of the Eyes, the pain by the eyes, magically bound membranes scraped by discharge. They are all

¹ The parent's name in magic is always that of the mother.

² *Šid*, a household demon.

bound and sealed. The eyes of N. son of N. (are protected) from pains and discharge and waterings and becoming dim. Bound are devils, bound the *piṭiaras*¹ and gods and high places and liliths. And health shall be his, N.'s, son of N. Amen, amen selah. S—a. Write this charm for headache. Write and hang upon his right (side) and he will become well by the strength of our lord. S—a.

4.

In the name of the Great Life ! Healing and cleansing and sealing and arming and the great safeguard of soundness be his, N.'s, the son of N. And healing be there for his head, that of N. the son of N. from the Life and from Dwelling-of-Life, the Healer, lord of all healers !

From the east I come and to the west I go. I found him and his pain ; he was weeping, wailing, and shedding tears. And I said to him : Why weepest thou and why sheddest thou tears ? And he said : Why should I not weep, and why should I not shed tears when your blows fall on my face, and (it is) your burning that inflamed it, and (your) staff is in my eyes, and your scourge in my heart and (your) loosening in all my limbs and the sixty-six veins, (also the) great vein of my body.

And I said to him : Beat not thy head on the stones, wail not, nor shed tears ! Mourn not ! I am the Chief ; I order him that came to thee, the six beings,² and he shall bring healing from the great Place of Light : (he shall bring thee) of our almonds and our leeks, and our lemon, and our oak (and) the great date-palm.³ He shall shred the principal ones.⁴ (And he shall remove my staff from thy head) and my throne from thy brain, and my blows from the veins of thy body and my burning from thine injured brain (mental infirmity), and my staff (from thine eyes), and my scourge from thy heart, and weakness-as-of-water from all thy limbs and from the sixty (and six) veins and from the great vein of thy babbling (body); and health shall be his, N.'s, the son of N. and for his brain-matter and his head, for his injured brain and for all the body of N. also

¹ *piṭiara*, a kind of demon.

² Probably a corruption. Only one healer is mentioned, namely the exorcist.

³ The reference is to foods eaten in the ritual meal, as all are customarily eaten in the *zidqa brikha* with the exception of the oak (acorn ?) unless this is counted "a fruit in season".

⁴ The passage is obviously corrupt. It probably ran *unišgal . . . mn risakh*, "and he shall remove my staff from thy head."

for his children by means of this writing which is appointed (for this purpose). Life is victorious. S—a. This charm for the removal of injury to the head should be read over the owner of the head. S—a.

5.

Upon thee, Dirdbun, I have called by name ! devil that eateth the flesh of a corpse and drinketh its blood. And upon evil lilithe, and upon N. the evil one that guarded not the great (abscess). Libat,¹ his daughter, make live (i.e. cure) the great abscess of N. Libat, remove (?) it. Amen, amen selah. S—a. Read this charm over a saffron-dyed egg (seven times) for three days—twenty-one times—and (bury) in a place where no one sees it, and the evil (one) will issue from his stomach.

6.

Enclosed in a trap, the lion roared and the fever of N. was stayed (lit. quenched).

7.

Grinding the teeth. And split is the tree ² and laughter ³ by His Name, that which is great and honoured, and beloved is his Name ! They were afraid, they were severed from N. son of N., from his ears and from his heart, (namely) the grinding of his teeth and the laughter from between his lips and the bolt (or "holding fast") from beneath his tongue, that is of N. son of N. (They were severed) by the Name of Glory, yea, hiding it from the worlds, by His Name that they feared (fearing) its beauty. It bringeth the protection of authority : there shall be health for N., he shall not grind his teeth. Amen, amen. And health, and the great protection of the angels, and satisfaction (shall be his). Yea, yea, selah. S—a. Write this charm for one that grinds his teeth at night and for one that talks in his sleep.

8.

In the Name of the Great Life that is eternal ! Thou groanest, and I wept and rose to the heavenly vault. I stopped, I found a

¹ Libat is the Mandæan Ishtar or Venus (Dilbat).

² Corrupt ; should probably read *'lita* "wailing".

³ *guha* is written, i.e. "trembling" or "terror", but *ghuka* is written below, so I have read it here as *ghuka*.

great cloud¹ resting on the edge (summit) of the mountains. I questioned her and said to her: What is the pain of fever? I have brought the pain of fever, the portion of a man, a scribe, and have dispersed the fever from the body of N. to the mountains and marshes. And (for lo!) he sins not, nor (behaves) vainly, nor makes strife, nor does his hand work for reward. S—a. The mystery of this charm for fever whisper it beside him with a bell so that it is not understood seven times and insert it into a place which no one knows. There will be healing and relief. S—a.

9.

Tremble, be off and vanish, be expelled and removed, all ye devils, *šids*, plague-demons, satans, "misadventures," and "dividing demons"³ and roo-demons from N. son of N.; moreover, appear not to him whether in dreams at night or visions by day, neither sleeping nor waking. Lie not upon him, deceive him not, appear not to him nor to his wife, nor to his sons or daughters, nor to any persons in his house, N.'s son of N. Life is victorious (over) all works. S—a. Ye are all bound, and these phylacteries shall bring healing to N. son of N.; they shall not loosen one another. By the name Yahu Yaya and Yu, Light, by Tus Qas they will bind. Strike! They are struck down and . . . (illegible) . . . the bond, a (powerful) word . . . and health be there for N. son of N., amen, amen selah. Lying-down, lying-down. . . This talisman is for one that hath nightmares. Write and fasten to him and there will be relief. S—a.

(There are talismans of a curative character for a number of complaints—"those bitten by a snake" or "mad dog", or "stung by a scorpion", "for hæmorrhage," "nose-bleeding," "cold fever," "hot fever," for "one whose hand is painful" or "whose heart and side are painful", and so on. In quite a different category are a series included in D.C. 46, which bear a markedly Arab stamp, and are probably translated from some Arabic book of magic. The pattern, however, has little that is Moslem in its composition. The illness or trouble from which the client is suffering is personified as a demon. The appearance of the demon is described: "with

¹ The *anana* (cloud) of this charm was originally in all probability a Babylonian deity (Nana? Nanai?). Hence the secrecy, the whispering, and drowning the voice with a bell.

³ *pigia upalgia* are often cited in exorcisms of demons. They are personified pollutions, which separate the polluted persons from his fellow men.

the head of a bull and the body of a man," "a fish," "a dog-headed woman," and so on. The formula then proceeds in every case in similar fashion. The demon is brought before Solomon, who asks it: "O demon, where residest thou, and how much evil has thou wrought upon the son of man?" The demon then names its place of residence, "in water," "beneath trees," "at cross-roads," "in the markets," as the case may be, and confesses which part of the human body he attacks, or how otherwise he injures the sick or afflicted person. Solomon then asks, "O demon, what is the charm that exorcises thee?" (*qublah mahw harwia*). The demon replies, giving a recipe and a magical formula, the latter being usually Arabic in Mandaic script. The recipes are various: for instance, "black rue in the milk of a red cow: boil over the fire and eat it." Concoctions are often to be inserted in the nostrils of the patient, probably because the nostrils are supposed to be one of the places by which evil spirits enter and issue.)

II. To Induce Pregnancy, or Protect the Embryo

(These are numerous, especially in the Arabo-Mandaic. Most of them are corrupt. They include lists of liliths, of angels, etc. I give a few typical examples. The *'uthras* are Mandaic life-spirits: the "Spouse" (*anana*) again suggests a former invocation of *Nana*.)

10.

Healing and the great safeguard of authority be there for her, N. Bound, bound, bound are all idols, great and small; bound are the female liliths and the mouth of the vagina is bound. Bound are the liliths. And thou speakest: and they are removed, fettered and impeded. Bound is the Spouse of the *'uthras*, all the tribes of demons and angels and idols are removed, made powerless and expelled from the body of N. The twelve liliths are bound into darkness, bound is Shamish (the sun-god), bound are the male gods by their own mysteries; bound are the idols whose names I mention with your names, (ye) four beings who surround and protect the sleeping. And health shall be N.'s and the unborn child's in her womb, (that) is found with her. . . . upon you, ye holy and pious angels, so that ye bring safely ¹ (to birth) the embryo of N. (by the names of) Nuriel, Sauriel, Tibiel, Hamriel, "Scatter-Demon,"

¹ Past after conditional.

Shamish, Mlakhiel, and Sharel. S—a. Write this spell in the interior of a shallow basin in which there is no engraving, steep it in white sesame oil and let the woman who does not get pregnant drink it. And she shall drink it when her husband lies with and sleeps with her. There will be healing from our lord, praised be his name! S—a.

11.

Health be there for N. and the embryo in her womb. And I praise you, holy and pious angels. Ye have hearkened, ye have hearkened, so that ye will bring safely (to birth) the embryo of N. by the names of Nuriel, Šuriel, Uthriel, Ardiel, Shatashiel, Kbel, and Šidriel. S—a. Write this charm on gazelle-skin and tie it to the woman's neck when her labour begins.

III. *Against Enemies, etc.*

12.

The voice of the earth so that he weeps, and the voice of the heavens with Shamish so that he sits in his blood and weeps at the torture to which the Seal¹ subjects him. He weeps, my enemy! And my tooth is upon his tooth. In his blood he mourns² and weeps.³ By the names of . . . iel, Rufiel, Markiel, by the name of Gabriel and Glaplaiel and Pakriel, ye shall turn away and separate the evil one N. from his companions and friends, and his wife and sons and daughters and from any river at which he may drink. Quickly, quickly! Amen, amen selah. The mystery of this command read upon bitter salt (salt-petre?) sixty-one times and put it into thine enemy's house and the evil man will depart from it. Establishing and efficacious. S—a.

13.

Earth is separated from the heavens and the heavens from the earth! The sun is separated (from the moon)⁴ and the four corners of the House (i.e. the world) are separate, turned away is the likeness of the demon in the nights,⁵ turned away (i.e. unpropitious?) are the twelve Signs of the Zodiac!

¹ *Gušbanga, gushpanga.*

² Read *mamba* (mourns).

³ Read *alia* (weeps).

⁴ This opening is common: and should run as in brackets.

⁵ The passage is corrupt. "Her likeness" is probably intended. The *dmutha* "likeness" is a spiritual double which acts as a guardian angel, and its estrangement would mean that she was no longer protected.

And she is turned away from her village (the village of) N., and from her husband N. and from her children and her district: she is turned away from her husband, her sons and her daughters and from her home, so that she wanders away from it. And the king shall turn from her and his regents (yea she shall be shunned) by all the children of men. Amen, amen selah. S—a. Write and bury at thine enemy's outer door, and she (or he) will be overthrown by thee.

14.

In the names of the angels written down in this talisman, and of (this) subduing spell and bond! In the names of Shaiel, Biniael, Nhuriael, Haqaniel, Qashtiel, Huriael, Dahwial, Ananiael, Biniael, Shiaiel, and Kibiael; further, (of) Wawiael, Haniael, and Aniael! Ye angels (and ?) Ruhm'iael,¹ whose names are written down, ye shall avert hatred from, and bestow upon me, N. love and beauty and fame and honour. Subjugate (to me) great and small, women and men, and virgins male and female, completely, and the river from which they drink, and freemen and freewomen, and the worlds and generations, and all the world in its entirety. And the whole world shall tremble, and the sun shall tremble and the moon shall tremble and gods and men will tremble and mountains and valleys will tremble, and all the evil folk that offended me, N. and my house, (also) my enemies. Revenge (me) with fire, blood, and slaughter.

I have adjured thee, Biyarukt, daughter of the gods, and Turiael and Miniael and Qiniael and Tuniael and Aṭiael and Miniael and Qiniael and Tuniael and Aṭiael and Miniael. Su, su, su! Depart, break down, earth and dust, depart!

Their tongues were held fast, all the evil ones who wronged me, N., and my house, moreover their mouths were exorcised and a clamp (was placed) beneath their tongues. Ye seven stars! (ye whose names are concealed or were not revealed with the exception of the Great Name which they revealed, and it was revealed—by the name *Adonai Šbaboṭh* (My Lord of Hosts) this it is!—break, cause to depart, . . . bind and accomplish! By the name Ainiael, and fire and blood and slaughter of witches. Amen, amen selah. S—a. Write this charm and hold it to thee then read it over salt and

¹ Interpolation from a gloss.

mustard, and it will destroy thine enemy and evil persons and their tongues will be bound.¹ S—a.

15.

In the names of Yaniael, Shiel, and Niaiel ! Ye angels that have removed hatred and bestowed love, favour, beauty, fame and honour upon N. ! Bring into subjection to him persons in authority,² great and small, women and men. Amen, amen selah.

This is a charm for the humiliation of those in authority. And read it over salt and mustard, and cast it (into) the place of whomsoever thou wishest (to humiliate). Further, hold it to thee with thy left hand and the evil persons will be quelled. S—a.

IV. *For Children's Ailments and Crying*

(There are a number of these, both in Mandaic and Arabo-Mandaic. Some, such as that addressed to a personified Sobbing, and that which invokes a mysterious Fish of Sleep, have something of a nursery rhyme flavour, as if they had been crooned over a restless child. The fish is associated in Lower Iraq with sleeplessness because a fish "never closes its eyes". When a marsh-dweller complains "*Chan es-semech yanam bil-hor ana nimet!*" ("If the fish in the marsh slept, then I slept!") he is saying ironically "I never closed my eyes all night". Unfortunately, all these charms are corrupt and badly misspelt. The first given below has a Christian invocation.)

16.

In the name of the Great Life, healing and purity and sealing and arming and the great guard of authority be there for me, N. son of N., from the Life and from "Dwelling-of-Life", the Healer, lord of healers that heal my soul, so that the Spirit (of) Wailing and the spirit (of) Weeping and the spirit that wails in the night and affrighting spirits were scared off. And she (the spirit of Wailing) was made impotent by the name of the Seven Angels that govern the children of men and cure them from pains and infirmities, and the Evil Eye, and persistent fever and dampness (perspiration?),

¹ The text is very corrupt, and the above only an approximate translation

² Or "masterful persons", "tyrants"

and Weakness, daughter, sister,¹ of Death, so that she shall flee away and be rendered harmless² by the vaunted name of Jesu Christ, son of the Remover.³ He is the healer of the souls of boy-child⁴ and girl-child, and removes the troublesome⁵ spirit and diarrhoea and weakness from boy-child and girl-child by the name of Qass Damad⁶ and chases them away to cure him and makes (them) fly, yea, he made (them) flee (etc.). S——a. This, a spell (for) fear, is of Hibil (Ziwa)⁷ it is for a child that cries and has nightmare. Write and fasten to thee, on thy neck. There will be relief. S——a.

17.

Health be the portion of N., son of N. The fishermen fish, they fish, the fishermen. His fast shall cease. Put into contact,⁸ bind (his eyes?). Rise, calm the thought and spirit of N., son of N., who refuseth to suck and to whose eyes sleep cometh not. He shall not arise from his sleep until he seeth the light of the sun, and the Fish of Sleep shall lie in its place. Amen, amen selah. Write this charm for a child that cries and refuses to suck its wet-nurse. Write, and it will suck its wet-nurse.

18.

Sobbing, Child of Hysteria, Child of Sobs! He was shaken by sobs⁹ and was quietened from sobbing, his sobs were vain, his sobs are subdued, and his sobs (tears) are dried and sent away. If not, I call on the angels of wrath that oversee and expel weeping and the dire affliction of sobbing, and they shall drive out weeping from N., the son of N. And there shall be health for N., son of N., from heaven. Sobbing. And Life is victorious. Write this charm and insert into an onion of three knots¹⁰ and tie to the little one's neck.

¹ Delete "daughter".

² *ibbul*. The feminine singular refers primarily to the Spirit of Wailing.

³ Probably *msana* should read *msiha* (messiah).

⁴ For *yanqia* read *yanqa*.

⁵ *'liza*. More probably to be read *'lita* "the spirit of wailing".

⁶ "The Christian priest Damad"? *Qass* = (Christian) priest.

⁷ Hibil Ziwa is the Light-Giver, a saviour-spirit.

⁸ With the breast.

⁹ Or "his sobs were scared away".

¹⁰ *amuza*. So a priest translates the word, but it is disputed. "Of three knots" is, I believe, a mistake, and it should read "tie to the forearm with three knots".

V. *Charms for Fowler and Fisherman*

19.

In the name of the Great Life which is unending ! I have called on you by name, (by the names of) those seven angels, that liberate game-birds before me, N. By the name of the angel Zarziel, the angel Hudiel, the angel Zaranaiel ! All ye angels shall liberate in my direction all birds and fishes. I conjure you with all the conjurations, ye angels, that ye track down, espy, and make settle every eagle and bird in the mountains and plains and gorges ; they shall rise up, and (also) the fish that are in the rivers : they shall come before me, N. Amen, amen, yea and amen selah. Recite this charm over salt and mustard, it is an exorcism for fowlers (and fishermen). And tie it to his forearm, further, write it on a piece of silk and tie to his forearm. There will be relief.

20.

In the name of the Great Life that is never-ending ! From Tarwan, the great mystery of the flowing-water,¹ came I forth, and I stand upon the great artery² of the air, and I expound occult mysteries to thee,³ this man that draweth up (the net) so that they may be drawn up and come, the fishes and birds of the lake and marsh, at my call, and may go to me and to my snare and my net and my command (?), N. son of N., drawing up (the net) in thy name, (the name of) that being, drawing-up, so that they shall be drawn up, so that they shall come, the fishes and the birds. And his name is the Great Light. Write this fishing spell and suspend it to thy hand, and it shall be that they will come before thee. For the fowler, write and hang upon the snare.

VI. *Love Talismans*

(The example given just below is much copied, and I had purchased a separate copy of it before the book of magic came into my hands. Like all these talismans, it is used for a woman in love with a man, or vice versa, with resulting confusion to the gender of verbs.)

¹ *Tarwan*, a river in the world of light. G.R.(r) 214, 300, 301.

² *širiana* or "sheath".

³ For *akwath* ("like"), read '*lahh*' ("to thee").

21.

In the name of Libat (Venus), mistress of gods and men ! He shall be brought into subjection, this man, N., neath the feet of N., woman, by the four limbs of his body, by the eight corners of his stature ; his male member and his sinews are subjected, subjected are his incoming and outgoing, subjected his slaves and his hand-maidens, subdued are his *šids* (household spirits) and his demons, subdued his amulets and idols, subdued his knowledge and understanding, subdued are the evil thoughts that are in his heart and his body, that of N. by the name of Mimhisiq Qusum, the lady that illumines them,¹ that casts water on dry land, and on the hands of (Libat) mistress of gods and men. He shall be bound and will come : he is brought into subjection, N., by the strong bond (spell) where-with heavens and earth were brought into subjection. From underneath the feet of N. (woman) he will go abroad, and his liver shall be seized, and he will not go to any place other (than hers), by the name of their mistress, she whose purity is sweet, who arose from the east,² who removeth them,³ the queen⁴ whom they remove⁵ and call her and she comes, and they seek her and find her and consider (?) her, and sleeps⁶ in the firmament of Qidsar,⁷ the love-longing and marriage-maker. In the name of Libat (Venus), mistress of gods and men he is brought into subjection, and became impassioned.⁸ And the heart and mind of N. are brought into subjection beneath the feet of N. the woman. He is bound and made subject, (yea) and heavens and earth are subdued at her name. Verily, and amen selah. S—a.

This talisman and bond and mystery summon. And there shall be love and fame and honour and fairness of face for N. (woman) before N. (man). He shall be driven after N. (woman).

Woe to the mouth that speaketh falsehood and to the lips that

¹ *ḏmaiarlun*, "or that awakes them." It will be noticed that the verb is throughout in the masculine form, probably because many texts use the word *mlakha* ("angel") for *mlikha* ("queen").

² *mn madna*. The variant *mn maruna* ("from rebellion") might be *mn maruma* ("from the height"). The reference is to the planet Venus, or to her attendant.

³ The whole passage is corrupt. I suggest that *mrahqan* should read *mrahmanan* "makes us love".

⁴ Read *mlakta* or *mlikta* for *mlakha* in all cases when Libat is invoked.

⁵ Probably should read "whom they love", see note 3.

⁶ Read *šakib*.

⁷ The name only occurs in this text, and is probably a corruption.

⁸ Read *unurh šbiq* = "his fire was kindled", i.e. "he became impassioned."

lie, for they are brought low even as the earth below the heavens above. And N. (the man), (is brought into subjection) below N. (woman) by the names of Kabshiel, Darkiel, Balmiel, Sanunel, and Ariel ¹ (and) by the name of Libat, mistress of gods and men. Bind him, seal him, bring him and subjugate him beneath the feet of N. by the seal and name of this lord of a seal ² and by the name of (the mistress of) gods and men. S—a.

All the children ³ of men, small and great, are bound, sealed, and subdued, (yea) all that sit in the market and mosques and stand in the streets. ⁴ By the names of the gods he, N., shall be brought low beneath the feet of N., woman, in the name of the Life, until he sits upon her couch, ⁵ in the name of Adunai, who trod down the earth and condensed the heavens, by the name of YA (*repeated seven times*), by the name Markiel ⁶ by the name of those angels of love that is fervent and glowing, (bind on him) bonds and upon all the children of men. These are the angels that subjugate N. to N. ! (He is subdued) by the name of (Libat mistress of) gods and men, and by the name Adunai Šbaboṯ. YA YAHU, amen, amen selah. S—a.

By your names have I called upon you, Rahmiel and Mrahmiel, that cause men to fall in love with women and women with men, in love and lust, and such ardour as thou bestowest on fire when it flames and glows, such glow and love and passion as thou bestowest on the ready (impetuous) north wind. And upon thee, N. (man) and N. (woman) there shall be bestowed that love which was infused into Adam and Eve, and love and passion were kindled in them, ⁷ their hearts embraced, they were clothed in love and covered with love, putting on passion and desire. They joined together, Adam and Eve, and fell in love: they were wrapped up in each other ⁸ and were not parted from one another. Thou didst make him enamoured of her loveliness and her society. And the love which

¹ Some texts omit angel-names.

² *gušbanqa. maria d̄ gušbanqa.* See p. 157, n. 1.

³ Literally "daughters".

⁴ A miscopying at some early date has resulted in a displacement of *qaimia* which should precede *biriathā*.

⁵ Read *alma d̄ yatib 'l aršē bšumh d̄ Adunai*. The *lwarša* (which makes nonsense) is influenced by the *lwarša* "on dry land" above.

⁶ In one variant only.

⁷ Read *'lawaihun*.

⁸ Read *rhanta*.

rested upon Adam and Eve arose, (and) shall rest upon thee, N., that same love and passion for her loveliness and society. Ye shall possess each other, ye shall be wrapped up in each other as in a single garment, and shall not be parted one from the other.

And they shall not see, they shall die (of their love) and will neither eat nor drink until they possess¹ each other. These. Yea, and amen selah. S—a.

He is humbled and laid low by the name of the angel Mumhaq. When (they ?) send him (the angel), he goes and subdues the heart and mind of N. beneath the feet of N. (woman). Yea, and amen selah. S—a.

He (N.) is curbed in like a horse with four halters ; he is held like a camel² by its head-rope, tied back like a mule by its halter, held back like a dog by its collar, by the name Dashtiel which bringeth assault into cities, by the name Rufiel who is a ministering angel upon earth, who answereth and removeth the troubles of mankind, by the name of the angel Nṭita, who tieth up men with women.

And N. said : " I behold N. (woman) before me, my own : we will not part from each other."

Beseech the angels that they may go and make (love) overpowering, and kindle love for N. (woman) in the heart of N. (man). (By) all the names that there are, N. shall go after N. with ardent love and passion, like unto a breeding dog after a bitch on heat, even thus shall he, N., be drawn and dragged after her, N., by the names of those angels of heaven³ and earth, by the names of the angels of love. Images.⁴ Yea, and amen selah. S—a.

In the names of the Queen of Love, Libat the beautiful, and a gleaming-white queen thou art ! And thou wilt beautify N. (woman) before N. (man). (She shall shine) in his heart like the glow of the sun or the glow of the moon, or the radiance of Venus, or like the glow of the sun amongst the encircling stars.⁵ N. shall be magnified with N. like unto a mountain peak.⁶

¹ Delete *mn.*

² Read *gumla*.

³ Read *ḏ 'šumia warqa* for '*šaiḥa warqa*.

⁴ Probably indicates that magic features are inscribed here. Similar notes have *šilmia uṣurathā*.

⁵ Delete *bhdadia*. The expression *mitkarkia bhdadia* is so common in love-charms that the word probably crept in by inadvertence.

⁶ Or, "her chosen one."

By thy name have I summoned thee, Kiwan (Saturn), so that N. shall be inflamed. When his vessel¹ emits (semen) he rejoices, ejecting it as his seed upon his thighs. He blossomed, the head of N. was turned towards N. (woman): like trees they were intertwined. Amen, amen selah. S—a.

The man N. is held to the woman N. his wife like these: like a horse with four halters,² like camels by a camel-halter, like a bull by his yoke, reined-in like a mule by its head-rope, pent back like fishes by a stone. And N. the man said, gazing upon her, upon N. the woman, "I am drawn to her body: I have called to her in love, mine own, N. We will not part company."

Splendour, nobility, and honour shall be N.'s in the eyes of N. woman, by Bel³ by the name of Libat, mistress of gods and men. S—a.

This is the spell of the Seven Gates of Love, for a man after a woman, or for a woman after a man. S—a.

22.

(Much copied and misspelt.)

In the names of these angels, that they may seize on N. in every place to which he comes (goes), bringing him (hither): (namely) Azael, Abdael Țarqun Pȥauna. He shall say, "Go. . . (?) there, there my husband." (?) Hathmiel, (names of various angels follow) . . . these angels shall inflame him, make him restless, N., everywhere that he goeth, bringing him to her bed. Bring him (withersoever he goeth), whether on water, or on mountains, he shall come and shall remain at her place: they will inflame him and bring him to her house and her place and her village, quickly, speedily they shall bring him. Amen selah. This word is for N., with stringency. He shall have neither breath, nor relief, nor rest, and whatever the place to which he comes, they will bring him, and he shall remain in the presence of N. (woman). Amen, amen selah.

Write (this) mystery for an absent one and put it beneath the head of the woman and the man will come. Moreover, bury (it) at cross-roads and the man will come.

¹ An euphemism.

² One variant has *baqbia pikta*.

³ This should probably read: *asfara uharathā u'qara nihwila lPlanitha alanpia Plan bilh*, "splendour and nobility and honour shall be N.'s (the woman's) in the presence of N., her husband."

23.

Upon thee by name I call, angel¹ dwelling in Arbela that solaceth² hearts and consciences, and taketh away N. from N. and from the home of his father and mother and brethren and friends, and from his place and his amulet. . . . (?) And Pthahil³ called, and the voice of Libat in dreams and she seals him (?). And (I hear) the sound of the rain in the clouds, and the noise of the lion that roars, and the sound of the serpent in the grass, and the noise of earthquake with its mysteries, and the voice of the lion that roars in the thickets, and the voice of thunder that rumbles from the heavens, and the voice of the lion in the sea, and the roar of a bull that is in pain, and (of) a dog that barks, and the voice of neighbours that are intoxicated, and the noise of a village of human beings, and the voice of the creatures of Libat, the doves,⁴ and the sound of earthquake with its mysteries, and the sound of rain in the clouds, and the noise of the serpent in the reeds and the sound of thunder that arises from the heavens⁵: nevertheless, I have heard (the plea) of N. that burns for and flies after N. just as her loins (burn for) his husbandry (lit. "ploughing"). Amen, amen sala. Write this charm and fasten it to thy fore-arm. For a woman after a man. And it is powerful and proven.

24.

Cause these seven angels to descend and put love for N. (woman) into the heart of N. (man). And (I invoke) all names that there are. And N. shall be inflamed, and be sent off⁶ and fly and come after N. (woman) with love that is fervent and burning, like a he-goat after she-goats, like a bull after a cow, like a breeding-dog after a bitch on heat, and like a fish after a fisherman,⁷ even thus shall he be towed and pulled. And N. shall be inflamed with love for N.

¹ The deity invoked was probably Ishtar of Arbela, and *mlakha* ("angel") should read *mikta* ("queen").

² Literally "bringeth forth".

³ A demi-urge and spirit of creation.

⁴ For *taumia* read *yaumia*. Doves were sacred to Ishtar (Libat).

⁵ I suggest read *qala ḡ ramia l'šumia*, "the cry raised to heaven" (i.e. by the suppliant woman).

⁶ The verb has also the meaning of emitting semen.

⁷ In the marshes of Lower Iraq fish have a string run through their gills when caught, and are towed after the boat: a method of keeping fish alive and fresh during fishing.

(woman) by the names of the angels of love. Images and pictures. Amen, amen selah. S—a. Write this charm and bury (it) at the back of a fire: the man shall be kindled with love for the woman.

25.

By the name of the Great Life have I adjured you, ye Seven (Planets) and twelve (Signs of the Zodiac); by thy name Life, and (the names of) Hananiel, the sun; Hanfael, the moon; Hadiael, Venus; Hakimishel, Mercury; Agiael; Kibrael; Dushael, Mars; so that N. shall come after N. (woman). By the name Harziel who is Hufnael, Haziael and Mibaqiael and Kifiael and Haniael and Sihiael and Haziaail¹—these, the seven planets and the twelve Signs of the Zodiac (I have adjured), so that N. shall come after N., his mouth open and his saliva flowing. He will take her skirt in his hand, and she will put her hand to her head and say, "Woe is me, woe! I am pierced² and lie in the embrace of N.!"

Amen, amen selah. Write this charm on gazelle skin or in a place of water³ and bury at the mouth of three springs. It is either for a woman after a man, or for a man after a woman. For whomsoever is in love with the other write this charm.

26.

In the names of Yaniel, Shaniael, and Niael! Remove, ye angels, hatred and set up love, kindness, beauty, fame, and honour for me, N. And subjugate to me masterful persons, whether great or small, whether men or women, to me, N. Amen, amen selah.

In the name of the Great Life! A beautiful appearance and a blooming countenance be mine, N.'s, in the eyes of N. (the beloved). I anointed my face and shone like the sun, I was radiant with the moon and glowed with the stars before N., I increased⁴ with the dawn. I shall be his incubus, like his echo I call to him.

He will kindle and take fire, N. (will come) after N. like a wild cat

¹ The first list is an identification of angel-names with the seven planets; the second list must have given an identification of angel-names with the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

² Or, "I exude drops of moisture."

³ A corruption of the phrase "on a gut (*mia*) skin". The juxtaposition of a reference to springs explains the scribe's error.

⁴ As the whole simile is that of light, I imagine that *gilia* here has not the usual meanings of "waves" or "features", but should be read *gilia* (גִּלְיָה) "the glowing horizon" or "dawn". Variants have *gilia d. mia* ("waves of water"), but this is probably a corruption, the whole text being degenerate.

and mad dog; (yea) he shall wax hot and become inflamed, and N. will come after the man N. in the name of Libat, mistress of gods and men. In the presence of (his friend) N., N. will be fair of face, he will find favour and be beloved. Amen, amen selah.

In the name of the Great Life, and in the names of the seven angels of love, the angel Qadishiel, the names of the angels, and his Name! Go ye, rest upon N., take away his eating (appetite) and his drinking (thirst), and make him come after me, N., when his excitement shall be appeased in his (fore ?) skin in your names, (ye) seven and twelve angels, (and of) Sun and Moon. And I conjure thee by thy name, (and the name of) the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac). For his melting they sent thee (?) to thee, ye (?) Shagriël.¹ Thy heat (shall be) for the burning of N. N. shall appear before N. as the moon. Ye twelve angels, by day and night I made sure of N. Thou hast aroused his burning (love), my father, with thine eye, when he averts and turns away his eyes. And N. shall come after N. in love, for his choice. . . .²

Write these three charms and secure to thyself. For a man after a man.

VII. Jealousy Charms

27.

In the name of the angels! Turned away is his countenance, there will be alienation for N. (woman) from N. (man). Bel is turned from Babylon, Nebo turned from Borsippa,³ Nišra turned from Kaškar,⁴ and alienated is the heart and thought of N. from the thought and heart of N. His⁵ face is the face of a lion, his body that of a wild cat, his snout that of a pig, his feet those of a buffalo, and his hair that of a night-demon. He stinketh, (and) she will spurn him like a potsherd for scraping. With him she will not eat, with him she will not drink, with him she will not sit, neither shall he approach her. In the name of the astarte, Libat, amen, amen selah.

¹ All variants of this text are confused and corrupt from here on, and differ considerably.

² What follows is hopelessly corrupt.

³ The list of gods and cities is corrupt in this, the oldest text I possess; but should be compared with the next talisman which is still more corrupt.

⁴ See p. 149.

⁵ The gender of pronouns and verbs varies, as the charm is used for both sexes, according to the wish of the client. The same applies to the following talisman.

Write this spell on a day's-old hen's egg and bury (it) at the gate of him (or her) whom thou wishest to drive out of his (or her) house, for all that thou wilt. And it is strong and proven.

28.

(Compare previous talisman)

Bel is turned from Babylon and Nirigh (Mars) from his countenance¹ (*read Borsippa*) and Kiwan (Saturn) from his light, and Nebo (Mercury) from his father, the Arab: and Shamish (sun) from the dwelling of the Persians and Libat (Venus) from the Indians, and all evil folk.

They have bound the loins of N. with pitch: when he beholds N. (woman) he says: "Send her away, she shall not remain in my presence." Amen, amen selah. Read this spell seven times over pitch and (then) smear it on the door of the man, and the man and woman shall become estranged by the strength of our lord, and there will be relief and healing.






29.

Afriel, Badriel, Qadriel, Dukrabel, Dufiel, Hurel, and Bulziel, these seven angels, sever the thoughts and pondering and habit and root of N. (man) from N. (woman). Amen, amen selah.

This spell for making the heart cold read upon a cup of water for one who is lovesick and give it him to drink, and his heart will grow cold by the strength of our lord.

There are a number of jealousy charms, which not infrequently include directions for making figures in clay or dough.

TRANSLITERATION

o	= A		= T
h	= B	z	= Y and I
	= G, Gh (when guttural)		= K, Kh (when guttural)
4	= D	J	= L
1	= H		= M
1	= W, U	V	= N
1	= Z		= S
o	= h (3rd pers. suffix only)		

¹ *parṣuḥ* for *Bursipi* or *Bursipa*.

𐤅 = '

𐤒 = š

𐤖 = P, F

𐤌 = T, Th

𐤗 = š

𐤚 = d (possessive particle)

𐤛 = Q

𐤝 = kth (pronounced kāth)
(= "as," "when,"
"as if")

𐤞 = R

Note.—When 𐤛 is pronounced gutturally I transliterate gh, and 𐤌 th, and 𐤖 kh when pronounced gutturally.

TEXT

Haršia Bišia

1.

Bšumaihun d hiia rbia asutha huilh lPlan mn 'satha umahra uqarsa ušiqufta waina bišta ukiwihta wasutha tihuilia lPlan amin amin sala S—a Hazin ṭalism kdub upuš bmia wašqia almari 'satha S—a.

2.

'zha u'tazha aina bišta waina qliqtia waina šihiltia waina bructia waina 'kuntia waina hamranita waina azla waina athia waina raiubtia waina qadawia waina rmia 'la rqiha waina mšustia ugatla umithi kth nura tipšur utifuq mn paghrai uruhai unišimtai u'štunia uhiklai ukulḥ binianai uzawai ubnai ubnathai dilia Plan br Planitha amin amin sala S—a Baba nazar band gam yanqa mn aina bišta ruf b'dakh yaminakh hawia rwaha wasutha bhailia d maraian S—a.

3.

'siria daiwia ušidia ugunahia ubšiaria 'sir kiba 'sir d ainia kiba d aganbia d ainia 'sir širiania d mqardin mn murqa 'siria hthimia kulhun aina Plan br Planitha mn kibia unafša ušidaiia uramašia 'siria daiwia u'siria paṭiarutha walahia u'kuria uliliatha wasutha tihuilia Plan br Planitha amin amin sala S—a Hazin baba gam kuba (*kiba*) d riša kdub u'aliq 'lšara d yaminḥ ubasm bhaila d maraian S—a.

4.

Bšumaihun d hiia rbia asutha uzakutha uzarazta unaṭarta rabtia d šrara nihuilia ldilia Plan br Planitha wasutha tihuilia lrišia d Plan

mn hiia umn manda d hiia asia maraihun d asawathā mn madna athina ulmarba azilna aškath (*aškitḥ*) ukibḥ bikia (*bakia*) alia umitašad wamarnalḥ walma d mitašidit wamar alma labakina walma lamitašidna uzanfusaikhun¹ bpambia (*banpia*) yaqdaikhun d šiṣlia umargnia (*umargnaiḥun*) bainai usaṭaikhun blibai ušawia (*ušaria*) bkulhun handamai ušitin ušita širania uširiana rba d rumqai (*qumtai*) wamarnalḥ latabnia riša² ulatala ulatitašida ulatinandia rišana 'paqid man d athalakḥ šita gubria wasutha mathalia mn athra rba d nhura luzan umuz(*an*) unuman umilan sindirka rba rišaiia niqlaf ukursia mn muhakḥ uzanfuthia mn širania d pquthakḥ šlia (*šiṣlia*) mn šairia umargnḥ . . . ušutḥ mn libakḥ ušapaiia mn kulhun handamakḥ umn šitin širania uširiana rba d pquthakḥ³ wasutha tihuilia ldilia Plan br Planitha ulmuqrḥ ulriša ulšairia ulkulḥ paghria d Plan ulšitḥ bhazin kdaba bhaza baba d 'tbadla uhiia zakin S—a Hazin baba psaqa d šilita kdub umaria riša mqaria S—a.

5.

Lakh bšumakh qraitakh Dirdbun daiwa d akil bisra d mitana ušatia zmḥ uliliatha 'l Plan biš dlašmar (*butanḥ* ?) rba laibat (*Libat*) brata haia butana rba d Plan libat nausa amin amin sala S—a (*Hazin*) baba qria lbit maruqtia thlatha yumia srin uhda z(*ibnia uqbun*) dukta d 'niš lahazilḥ unafiḥ bkarsḥ . . . biša. . .

6.

Aufiq b'šar aria nham umitignat 'šatha d Plan . . . (*etc.*).

7.

Hariq šina mšabinalḥun umauminalkḥun upasia 'lana guha (*ghuka*) d hraqa d šina d hahu šumia rba uyaqira waziza šumia zhun psiḡun mn Plan br Planitha mn 'udnḥ umn libia hraqa d šina ughuka mn bina sfihatḥ uldaša mn atutia lišanḥ Plan br Planitha bšuma d 'qara 'n kasih mn almia bšumia d zha umn nuḥ nithia zrasta d šrara wasutha tihuilia lPlan šinh lanihruq amin amin asutha rabtia d mlakḥa uziḡu 'in 'in sala S—a Hazin baba kdub lman hariq šinh blilia umn mhadith bšintia S—a.

¹ Read zanfuthaikhun as below.

² Should be rišaḥ.

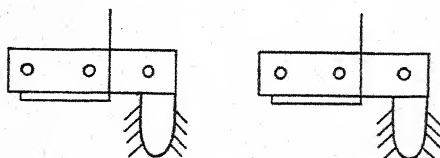
³ The scribe writes first rumqai(?) and then in a parallel passage below *pquṭhakḥ*. Read qumtai and qumtakḥ.

8.

Bšumaihun d hiia rbia d labatlia nihmat ldaria ubaqit usilqit lkifa sikrit aškit anana rba kif tūria yatib šailit wamar(i)lh kib d šimra mahu kib šimra aithit miniana d gabra sapra ubadirtia lšimra mn paghra d Plan ltūria wagmatha ulahaṭia ulabatlia uzaina labdia u'dia bagra labdia S—a Raza hazin baba lšimra nbišlh bganfḥ bzagin d lamapraš šuba zibnia ubudqḥ dukta d 'niš layada hawia asutha urwaha S—a.

9.

Zha aṭar ukbuš utbaṭal utbarun utrahqiun kulaikhun daiwia šidia ušibṭia usaṭania upigia upalgia ubnia angaria mn Plan br Planitha tum latitahzulḥ labhilmia d lilia ulabhizwania d 'umama ulabšintia ulabtirathḥ latišikbun 'lh ulatiramunḥ ulatitahzulḥ 'l Plan br Planitha uzawḥ ubnia ubnathḥ ukulhun nišmatha d 'ka bbaithḥ Plan br Planitha hiia zakin (l)kulhun ('ubadia) S—a 'siria anatun kulaikhun 'sir umzaman umšadria qmahia halin asutha Plan br Planitha laništria hdadia bšum Yahu yaya uYu Nhur nTus Qas taqmahia ašquf šqin. . . ¹ asara mitilta (*minilta*) ša . . . wasutha tihuilia 'l Plan br Planitha amin amin sala . . . gunta gunta (*etc., magical nonsense and figures, e.g.*



S—a. Hazin qmaha lman d hazia hizwania d šinta kdub ulguṭ 'lh khawia (*qahawia*) rwaha S—a.

10.

(*Pieced together from two illiterate copies*)

Asutha unṭarta rabtia d šrara nihuilia lPlanitha 'siria 'siria kulhun patikhria rurbia udirdqia 'siria liliatha nuqbatha upatikhria ¹ 'sira liliatha ² umalit urgila umragla ³ šana 'sira anana d 'uthria kulhun širšia daiwia umalakhia upatikhria d mrahqin umbatlan umbaran

¹ D.C. 45 has pira 'sira "the vagina is bound".

² Variant: Tarbiš liliatha.

³ Variant udgila umdagla "disappointed and outwitted".

mn paghra d Planitha 'sira trisar liliatha bhabara 'sir Šamiš u'siria alahia zikria brazaihun¹ d nafšaihun 'sir patikhria d 'dkar šumai~~kh~~hun anatun arba gubria d mkalala ugindal (*gan'ia 'l*) šak~~h~~bia wasutha tihuilia lPlanitha u 'l 'ula d bkarsia maškia min~~h~~ . . .² l~~kh~~hun anatun mlak~~h~~ia qadisīa umhaimnia d minitun minitun 'l 'ubadia (*read 'ula d*) Planitha d Nur'il Šaur'il u'Tib'il uHamr'il uDradaīwa Šamiš uMlak~~h~~'il Rumil uŠaril S—a Hazin baba kdub bgwara d tašt kuan d lašir bgau~~h~~ šurta šrib~~h~~ miša d šišmia hauria wašqil~~h~~ 'l 'n~~th~~a d labatna ušatia k~~th~~ midak (*midmak*) umiganil~~h~~ bil~~h~~ hawia asutha mn maraian mšaba šumia S—a.

11.

Asutha tihuilia lPlanitha u'l 'ula d bkarsh umšabinalk~~kh~~hun anatun mlak~~h~~ia qadišīa umhaimnia tinitun tinitun d minitun l'ubadia (*'l 'ula*)d Planitha bšuma Nur'il Šuri'il u'U~~th~~ria'il u'Rdi'il uŠataš'il Kbil Šidril S—a Hazin baba kdub bmgalta d ṭabia urifh 'n~~th~~a lhalš~~h~~ d afkaul~~h~~ afka S—a.

12.

Qal arqa d bakia uqal šumia umn Šamiš d yatib bdma umn sriqa d rmi~~h~~ gušbanqa bakia sanai ušinai lsin~~h~~ bdma 'mba 'lia yatib bšumia . . . uf'il uRuf'il uMarka'il ubšum Gabr'il uGlaplaial uPakriaiil anatun pkui~~h~~ wafkui~~h~~ lPlan bišamn habri~~h~~ urahmi~~h~~ u'n~~th~~h ubnia ubnath~~h~~ umn kul nahra d šatia min~~h~~ sarhib sarhib amin amin sala S—a Raza hazin pugdama qria lmihla marartia šitin uhda zibnia ušdil~~h~~ lsanakh bbaithia unafiq biša min~~h~~ qaimia umnasia S—a.

13.

'fiqa arqa mn šumia ušumia mn arqa 'fiq Šamiš (*mn Sira*?) u'fiqin arbia zawiatha d bai~~th~~a 'fika dmutha d daiwa bliliatha 'fik trisar malwašia 'fika matha d Planitha mn ziwa (*zawh*) Plan ubn~~h~~ uhanzaman 'fik mn ziwh (*zawh*) ubn~~h~~ ubnath~~h~~ math~~h~~ ulauda min~~h~~ unitfik min~~h~~ malka ušaharalia mn kulhun bnath anašia amin amin sala S—a Kdub uqbur bbaba d sanakh bbaba baraia umikbišš minakh S—a.

¹ Variant, 'daihun "their hands".

² All that follows in one copy only.

14.

Bšumaihun d mlakhia d kdibia bhazin qmaha ukibša wasara bšum Šaiail uBiniaail uNhuriaail uHaqaniaail uQašti'il uHuriaail uDahwiaail uAnianiaail uBiniaail uŠiaail uKibiaail tum Wawiaail uHaniaail wAnaiaail anatan mlakhia Ruhm'iaail d kdibia šumaihun anatan (*rahiqiun*) afkiutha siniutha

urmun arhamta ušupra ušaia u'qara ldilia Plan ukbuš minh rurbia udirdqia u'nšia ugubria uptulia uptuliatha bgumura (*bgmura*) unahra d šatia mia minh uharia uhartha walmia udaria bguamrh (*bgmura*) uninud alma kulh uninud Šamiš uninud Sira uninud alahia wanašia uninud turia waramatha 'l kulhun bišia d haṭibia ¹ bdilia Plan ulbaithai ubildbabai niqum bnur zma ugaṭla ² auimitikh Biyarukt pth alahia uTuriaail uMiniaail uQiniaail uTuniaail wAṭiaail uMiniaail uQiniaail uTuniaail wAṭiaail uMiniaail Šu šu šu anad aqar arqa anad (*or* anar ?) šmar lišanun kulhun bišia d haṭibia bdilia Plan ulbaithai tum ašif pumaihun ušmad atutia lišanun anatan šuba kukhbia d šumaikhun ksia ulamgalal lbar mn šum rba d galilh ugaliata bšum Adunai Šbabuth hu zha uhaihu anar anad alidna ³ asar ukšar Ainiil bšum unur zma ugaṭla d harašatha amin amin sala S—a Hazin baba kdub ulguṭ 'lakh tum qria lmihla uhardla ušaria lsanakh d bišia wasar lisanun S—a.

15.

Bšum Yaniaail uŠiaail uNiaail anatan mlakhia rahiqiun siniutha urmun rhamta hizda ušupra ušaia u'qara ldilia Plan kbuš minh sulṭania rurbia udirdqia u'nšia ugubria amin amin sala S—a.

16.

Bšumaihun d hiia rbia asutha uzakutha uhathamta uzarazta unatarta rabtia d šrara nihiulia ldilia Plan br Planitha mn hiia umn Manda d Hiia asia maraihun d asawatha d masia nišimtai d til. . . ⁴ 'liza ⁵ (*'lita* ?) ruha ruha baka (*bakia*) uruha d blilia bakia udahlulia bšum šuba mlakhia d mšaltia lbnia anašia umasilun mn kibia umasisia waina bišta ušatha qita umarganita ⁶ ruita pth ahathd d

¹ Variants have hiṭṭa bdilia. I read d haṭibia bdilia as below. The text is corrupt in all copies.

² Read bnura zma ugaṭla. One scribe writes niqm bušr zma ugaṭla.

³ Variant has alidia (?).

⁴ Variant has zha. The copy above is blotted.

⁵ I suggest 'lita. Bkita u'lita "crying and wailing" is an expression found in the Ginza Rabba (R., p. 175).

⁶ One variant has marganita.

mutha d h' tizha utibṭul bšum mhaqar Yuša A'isa br Mariam mšana hu masia nišmatha d yanqia uyanqita umrahiq ruha 'liza ušrita uruita d yanqia uyanqita bšum Qas Damad waṭias asiua umaṭus qaṭus šu šu za za za za za za za (*magical figures and gibberish follow, including the sacred name Yahu five times repeated*) S—a Hazin baba hauqa d Hibil lyanqa d bakia umistarwad kdub ulguṭ 'lakh bšaurakh hawia rwaha S—a.

17.

(Note.—I give all the variants as an example of the corruption of these magic texts. Few who copy these talismans understand what they write, and so thorough has been the degeneration that even on comparison of the texts the meaning is doubtful and obscure.)

(a)

Wasutha tihuilia Idilia Plan br Planitha masiria širia širia šaumia nidla qaf šir qum nizal rbutia IPlan br Planitha mišilh ulamaiš ušinta lainh lathia mn šintia laniquum alma lziwa d Šamiš nihzia ušišia šinta batha šakib amin amin sala S—a Hazin baba lyanqa d bakia ulguṭ bšuria S—a.

(b)

Asutha tihuilia IPlan br Planitha šaidia šaiad šaidia šaium anar wapišir qum nihil bbala ubruha IPlan IPlan d mimna wamaiš ušinta lainai watha mn šinth laniquum uziwa d Šamiš lanihziḥ ununa d šinta bathrh šakib amin amin sala S—a Hazin baba kdub lyanqa d baka unanh lamaiš kdub umaiš nanh hawia S—a.

(c)

Asutha tihuilia IPlan šaidia šadia ušai umanad wapišid qum nizal ubrula bdhh IPlan d mimna wamaiun ušinta lainai watha mn šinta laniquum uziwa d šamiš lanihzi ununa d šinta bathrh šakib amin amin sala S—a Hazin baba kdub lyanqa d baki unanh kdub umaiš nana hawia S—a.

(d) Recently copied (*sic*!)

Wasutha tihuilia Idilia Plan br Planitha širia širia šaumia nidla qaf šir nizal nidbulia qaf šir nizal nibdulia qafšir nizal nibulia rbutia Plan br Planitha mišilh ulama d hun ušinta lainh lathia umn šintia laniquum almia lziwa d šamiš nihziḥ ušišia šinta bathra šakib amin amin sala S—a Hazin baba kdub lyanqa ulguṭ bšuria S—a.

(Of these four versions (b) and (c) were from older documents. I venture to guess at the following :—

Wasutha tihuilia lPlan br Planitha šaidia šaiad šaiad šaidia šaumia nidla quf šir qum nha lbalh ulruh d Plan br Planitha d mimna (ܡܡܢ) maiiš ušinta lainh laṭhia mn šintia laniquum alma d ziwa d šamiš nihzia ununa d šinta bathrh šakib amin amin sala S—a Hazin baba kdub lyanqa d bakia unanh lamaiiš kdub umaiiš nanh hawia S—a.

18.

Qiṭia br Qaṭia brh d Qiṭia zha d qiṭia unha d qiṭia 'tabaṭal qiṭia umkabšin qiṭia umyabšin qiṭia umaḡqin qiṭia hinila qarina 'lawaiḡhun mlakhia d rugħza umaḡqin bkita uqirsa biša d qiṭia umaḡqin bkita mn Plan br Planitha Yahu Yahu Yahu wasutha tihuilia 'l Plan br Planitha mn 'šumia qiṭia hiia zakin (magic figure) S—a Hazin baba kdub bduq bamuza d ṭhlatha giṭria uruf bšuria d zuṭa S—a.

19.

Bšumaihun d hiia rbia d labaṭlia bšumaihun (bšumaiḡhun) qraitinkhun halin šuba mlakhia d šarin kul šipria šaidia lqudamai dilia Plan bšum Zarz'il mlakha Qarbi'il ¹ mlakha Hathqi'il ² mlakha Hudi'il mlakha Zaranaiil mlakha ³ kulaiḡhun mlakhia šarin 'l awai kulhun šipria ununia mauminalḡhun bkulhun 'umamatha ṭaiamaiḡhun (= d, etc. ?) mlakhia tililun tihzinun tišrin kul nišra ušipria (ušipra) lṭuria udištatha upaqatha qaimia ununia d bnahra-watha 'l qudamai dilia Plan niṭhun amin amin 'in wamin sala S—a. Hazin baba qria lmiḡla uhardla šrita d šaidia urufh lmasia tum kdub 'l kaṭa šaraia uraiif lmasia hawia rwaha S—a.

20.

Bšumaihun d hiia rbia d labaṭlia mn Tarwan raza rba d yardna nafqit ulširiana rba d ayar qaimna umaprišna razia kasia akwath ⁴ ('lakḡ) gabra d mud d ⁵ d mdilia hazin d nidalun d niṭhia nunia ušipria d yama wagma 'l qalai u'lai azlai lhinqai warwai umilanaia dilia Plan br Planitha midia ⁶ bšumakh hakḡ gabra d mdulia d

¹ Variant, Barbi'il.

² Variant, Zaranaiil.

³ Last two angels missing in one variant.

⁴ Read as in brackets.

⁵ Delete d mud d. It is a scribe's blundering. (The whole talisman is exceedingly corrupt.)

⁶ Read mdalia.

nidalun d nithun nunia lšipria (*ušipria*) hu ziwa rba šumia S—a
 Hazin baba šiid kdub u'aliq b'dakh hawia qudam anpakh šaiid
 šipria kdub u'aliq bmašwaf S—a.

21.

Bšumh d Libat marat alahia wanašia nitikbiš hazin Plan atutia
 kraia Planitha 'nthā barbia handamia d qumth bthamania zawiatha
 d qumth kbišia girbia ugidia (*giadia*) kbišia aialh unfaqh kbišia
 abdiḥ wamathh ušidiḥ udaiwiḥ kbišia humriḥ upatikhriḥ kbišia
 madia ukbišia madihth kbišia hašbia bišia d blibh upaghria d Plan
 bšumia d Mimhisīq Qusum martia d maiarlun d ramia mia lwarša
 u'l 'dia d marat alahia wanašia nistar unithia ukbiš Plan b'sura biša
 d kibšua (*kibša*) 'l šumia warqa mn atutia lighria d Planitha nifuq
 ukabdia nidbur ¹ d Plan dukta hurintia lanizal bšumia d mariathun
 mliḥa d mn dukia hly umn madna 'tigbil ² d mrahqinin mliḥa d
 mšqalia ³ uqarilh wathia ubaiilh umaškilh ušawiḥ ušakib ⁴ bšumia d
 Qidsar ⁵ daitia ⁶ ušadik bšumh d Libat marat alahia wanašia kbiš
 ušbiq ukbišia libh uruianh d Plan atutia lighria d Planitha 'nthā 'siria
 ukbiš u'sir ukbiš lšumia warqa b'šumia 'in wamin sala S—a.

Mzaman hazin qmaha wasara uraza urhamta ušaia u'qara ušapur
 anpia nihiulh 'l Planitha alanpia Plan nidribia abathar Planitha
 hasla lpuma d nimar šiqra ulsfihatḥa d nikadbun d kibšia 'l arqa
 atutia šumia d 'lawaihun Plan atutia Planitha bšumia d Kabši'il
 uDarki'il uBalmi'il uSanun'il ⁷ wAr'il bšuma Libat marat alahia
 wanašia 'siria huthmuiḥ wathuiḥ ukibšuiḥ lPlan atutia lighria d
 Planitha ubisqa ušum hazin maria gušbanqa bšum (*marat*) alahia
 wanašia S—a.

'Siria hthimia kulhun bnath anašia rurbia udirdqia kul d yatbia
 bsuqia umazgdia ubbiriathā d bšumia d hiia walma d yatib lwaršḥ
 ('l *arsia*) ⁸ adunai d hu kbiš arqa umasia lšumia bšum Yaya-
 yayayayaya Yahuyahuyahuyahuyahuyahu bšum Mark'il ⁹

¹ Variant has correct nidbar.

² Variants have for the preceding sentence: (a) warukia hla mun maruma
 'tigbil (= mn maruma 'tigbil?). (b) umn madna 'tgibil.

³ Variant, mšarilh.

⁴ Variants, šakb, šakiab.

⁵ Variants, Qirsar, Qirsaq.

⁶ Variant, diitia.

⁷ Variant, Sinun'il.

⁸ Variant, al aršia.

⁹ Passages in the variants following bšum Mark'il vary widely in all the copies
 to the end of the section. I have chosen the least illiterate.

bšumaihun d halin malakhia d rhamta d šiha ušigra 'lh asaria ukulhun bnath anašia halin hinun mlakhia nikibšin Plan atutia Planitha bšumaihun d halin mlakhia bšum (*marat*) alahia wanašia bšum Adunai Šbabuth Ya Yahu amin amin sala S—a.

Bšumaihun qraitinkhun Rahmi'il uMrahmi'il d mrahim gubria brhamta 'nšia u'nšia lwath gubria brhamta urgaga ušauta d šrat lnura kth yaqda umhababa hanatia šauta urhamta urgaga d šrat layar stana atitia ('titia) utišria 'lakh Plan uPlanitha hanatia rhamta d šrat lAdam uHawa ušbaqiun rhamta urgaga 'lawaihun mitkarkan libun brhamta malbišia urhamta mkasin šiha ušigra ramīn hathunūn lAdam uHawa utarminun brhamta mitlabšin mn hdadia lamitpisqin arhamth mn busma lšauth¹ uqam arhamta d šrat lAdam uHawa tišria 'lakh dilakh Plan bhanata rhamta urgaga 'l busma ušauta titlabšun ubihda lbuša titlabšun bhdadia ulatipisqun mn hdadia ulanihzun unimuthun ulaniklun ulanišaitun alma d mn² waqna hdadia 'in wamin sala S—a.

Mšawia umištawia bšumia d Mumhaq mlakha kth mšadarlh³ azil umkabišlh 'l liba uruiana d Plan atutia lighr⁴ d Planitha 'in wamin sala S—a.

Zim⁴ kth susia⁵ barbia piktia zim kth gumlia bzmama zim kth kdana bmhaqa zim kth kalba bsungara ubšuma Mahbqi'il d h' šabiq hauqa barqa d Babil bšum Dašti'il d hu mqarib turia bmdiniatha bšum Ruš'il d hu mlakha barqa šaita d hu gaiib plibh tiqatha d br anašia bšum Ntita mlakha d hu zaiim gubria lwath 'nšia wamar Plan d hazina lPlanitha qudamai dilia lwath hdadia la nipsiq⁶ halin mlakhia ba d nizlun unišrun unišbqun rhamta d Planitha bliba Plan ukul (*ubkul*) 'šumia d 'tlia niθia Plan abathar Planitha brhamta d šiha ušigra ayak kalba gnuna abathar gurita gnuntia haikin nišla uništilh Plan abathar Planitha bšumaihun d halin mlakhia d 'satha warqa bšumaihun mlakhia d rhamta ušilmatha 'in wamin sala S—a.

Bšumaihun qraitinkhun mlakha⁷ d rhamta d Libat šapirtia ulbina malakhta anat titia utišapr⁸ lPlanitha banpia Plan blibh kth šihma

¹ All the variants have lšauta : one would expect šauta.

² Delete mn.

³ Variant, mšararlh.

⁴ The verb zam means "to hold in, keep back, by the nose or head": hence "curb", "rein in", "lead by the nose".

⁵ Variants : kth suqi b'dh pukta ; kth suq bdra pukta.

⁶ Variant : ba halin mlakhia d nizlun ukibrun unišbqun.

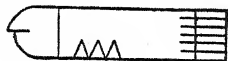
⁷ Read Bšumikh qraitikh mlakha. The address is to Libat.

đ Šamiš đ ŝihma đ Sira uŝihma đ Libat uŝihma đ Šamiš bina kukhbia mitkarka bhdadia mitrurab Plan lwath Planitha kth giba ¹ bšumakh qraitakh Kiwan đ nithia Plan umŝagar kth mpaŝar liginh hadia rmilh kth tuhmh laŝmh nitiaŝ tgadal riŝia đ Plan lwath Planitha kth 'lania bhdadia mitkarka amin amin sala S—a.

Zim kth hazin Plan gabra lwath Planitha zawh kth susia barbia piktia ² zim kth gumlia bzmama zim kth taura bnira zim kth kdana bmbhaqa zim kth nunia baŝaŝa wamar Plan gabra hazilh đ Planitha 'nthā matitilia (*mahtit 'lā ?*) lpaghria 'tiqriŝia brhamta dilia Planitha mn lwath hdadia lanipsiq aŝfara uharutha ³ u'qara nihiulia lPlan alanph Planitha bil bšumh đ Libat marat alahia wanaŝia.

S—a

Hazin ŝuba babania đ rhamta gabra abathar 'nthā u'nthā abathar gabra S—a.



22.

Bšumaihun đ halin malakhia đ lagtialh 'l Plan kul dukta đ aithia mathilh Azi'il Abdaiil uTarqun Ptauna blibh nimar azil sala tam tambil Hathmi'il Nirmi'il Amami'il Lha . . . alana nain rsa uhisa uhisia (figure) Qmba'il uDardi'il Salanasa Mimrimi'il Katmi'il uSarsafi'il uŝapri'il Sasumar Dihuma Dimŝat Hŝiauniaka Lhŝfmiil qahu Halsri'il Baqni'il 'lhalŝh halin mlakhia mŝahnilh umŝrguzlh lPlan mn kul duktia đ aithia mathilh lmginth mathilh 'u bmia 'u bŝura hu hu athia unadar bduktia uniŝahunuh unaithunh lbaithh wathrh umathh ligil (*ligal*) sarhibunh mathilh amin sala. Hai minilta bŝrara nihiulia lPlan kahuta uŝrita ukauna lahwillh ukul dukta đ aithia aithilh unidar alanpia đ Planitha amin amin sala S—a. Raza kdub lgaib wathā atitia riŝa 'nthā ugabra athia tum qbur barba 'uhrawatha wathia gabra S—a.

23.

'lakh bšumakh qraitakh mlakha amaria Arbiil mlakha đ mafqia libia utiratha uPlan mn Planitha umn mathh đ abuia u'mh wahia urahmia umn athrh hu martia . . . uqra Pthahil uqala đ Libat bhilmia utitma uqala miŝra đ banana uqal aria đ nahim uqal hiwia bhilfia

¹ Variant gibia ("her choice").

² Copies vary much here, some omit kth taura or other similes.

³ Variant, hadutha "joy".

unitrahim Plan banpia Plan amin amin sala bšumaihun d hiia rbia ubšumaihun d šuba mlakhia d rhamta Qadišial mlakha ušumaihun mlakhia ušuma anatum aziliun u'tiblh 'l Plan nisbuih Imiklia umašqith minh unisbuih l'tamh wathia (Plan) abathar dilia Plan kth šlia lbuth bqraumia bšumai~~kh~~hun šuba utrisar mlakhia Šamiš uSira umainalakh (mauminalakh) bšumakh lišaihh ¹šadarlakh 'lakh anatum (anat?) Šaqri'il haumakh lyaqdana d Plan nadimia Plan banpia Plan kth Sira anatum trisar mlakhia blilia u'umama yandit kbibia ²abuia bainakh kth hama wahana ainh unithlia Plan abathar Plan brhamta lbihria u. . . Yaha S—a Hazin thlatha babia kdub ulguṭ 'lakh gabra abathar gabra S—a.

VII. Jealousy Charms

27.

Bšumaihun d mlakhia 'fikia anpia 'fika nihiilh lPlanitha mn Plan 'fik 'fik 'fik 'fik 'fik 'fik Bil mn Babil 'fik 'Nbu mn Bursippi 'fik Nišra mn Kaškar 'fik liba uruiana d Plan mn liba uruiana d Planitha anpia anpia d aria gišumh d šunara kartumh d hizura kraiaia d bahima umanzia d lilitha tisrih utiṭartlh Plan kth hasfa d garaia wabihdh latikul wabihdh latištia wabihdh latitab ulwathh laniqrub bšum Libat 'stra amin amin sala S—a Kdub hazin baba lbaia d zagata pth yuma qbur bbaba d man baiit nafaq (nafaqh) mn baiṭh lkul man d baiit ušarir umnasia S—a.

28.

'fik Bil mn Babil uNirigh mn paršufa (Bursipa) uKiban (Kiwan) mn nhura u'Nbu mn aba arbaia uŠamiš mn Bit Paršaiia uLaiwat (Libat) mn Hinduaiia ulanašia bišia qira 'sirhl bhalsh Plan kth hazilh lPlanitha nimar afquih mn qudamai lanitab amin amin sala S—a Hazin baba qria 'l qira šuba zibnia ušiflh bbaba d gabra (ugabra) u'ntha hawin 'fik mn hdadia mn haila d maraian hawia rwaha wasutha S—a.

29.

Apri'il uSadr'il Qadri'il Dukrab'il Dufi'il Hr'il uBulzi'il hazin šuba mlakhia qduia l'ušria ulruiana unimusa ulširiš Plan mn Planitha amin amin sala S—a Hazin baba d qarūšta d liba qria lkuza minh (mia) lman d hawia 'ašuq wašqih uqaruš libia bhaila d maraian S—a.

¹ Variant, lyušiahh.

² All versions differ here and are ill-spelt—the text is very corrupt.

Chinghiz Khan's First Invasion of the Chin Empire

By H. DESMOND MARTIN

IN recent years the advances made in the study of nomad history have done much to dispel the popular misconception of Chinghiz Khan. Carried away by the great conqueror's feats of arms, writers have frequently treated him as a political phenomenon, unique and apart from the current of history to which he properly belongs. In reality his career constitutes the most outstanding chapter in the history of the nomads of Northern Asia. Surpassing the most famous of his predecessors, he outstripped the greatest of the Hsiung-nu and Turkish rulers and left behind a name that is a household word from China to the Danube. Of all his exploits, none has impressed the Occident so much as his invasion of the Khwarazmian Empire. This, with its tremendous consequences for the world of Islam and Eastern Europe, has tended to draw attention away from his wars in China. Also it is only since the labours of M. Pelliot and other distinguished Sinologists that many valuable Chinese documents on Chinghiz Khan have become known.¹

¹ The ensuing article is but part of an intended monograph on Chinghiz Khan's wars with Hsi Hsia and Chin.

The principal Chinese sources used for the campaign of 1211 have been the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*, translated by Paladius, 1866; the *Yüan Shêng-wu Ch'in-chêng-lu*, with commentaries by Wang Kuo-wei, 1926; the *Yüan Shih* of Sung Lien, translated by Krause (Cingis Han), 1922; the *Ssü Ch'ao Pieh Shih*, compiled by Shao Yuan-p'ing and corrected by Hsi Shih-ch'en; the *Hsin Yüan Shih* of K'ê Shao-ming; the *Yüan Shih Hsin Pien* by Wei Yuan, 1905; the *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih* of T'u Chi, which contains by far the best and most detailed account of the military operations of Chinghiz Khan and Muqali in China; the *Chin Shih*; the *T'ung-chien Chi-lan*; the *Yüan Ch'ao Ming Ch'êng Shih Liao*, Biography of Mu-hua-li (Muqali) by Su T'ien-chiao; the *Mêng Ta Pei Lu* of Mêng Hung, commentaries by Wang Kuo-wei, and the *Ch'ên-shih Chung-hsi Hui-shih Jih-li* (Calendar of Chinese, Christian, and Moslem dates) by Ch'en Yüan, Roman Catholic University of Pei King.

The main works on which the accompanying maps are based are the *Pei Chih-na Ti-T'u* (Map of North China), published by Kobayashi, Tokyo; the British General Staff Map of Asia, sheet 22 (Mongolia), published 1931; A. Hermann, *Atlas of China*, published by the Harvard University Press, 1935; the *Li Tai Yu-Ti Yen-kê Hsien-yao-T'u* (Historical Map of China), by Yang Shou-ch'ing; the *Chung Kuo Ku-chin Ti-ming Ta-tzu-tien* (Historical Dictionary of Chinese Geography); the *Sui-yüan Shêng Fên-hsien Tiao-ch'a* (Survey and History of Sui-yüan) and Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*.

All Turkish and Mongol names are after the form approved by M. Pelliot, but with English substituted for French spelling; Chinese names follow the Wade system.

So European biographers have allotted comparatively little space to his activities in China. Yet the overthrow of the rulers of North China was the principal ambition of his later years, and but for the provocative action of the Khwarazm Shah in ordering, or at least conniving, at the murder of the Mongol caravan at Otrar, there is no reason to believe that Chinghiz Khan would have turned his arms west before completing the conquest of Cathay. It is the first campaign of his Chinese war, perhaps the most spectacular in the annals of Mongol conquest, that is here described.

When Chinghiz Khan had united under his rule all "The generations that lived in felt tents"¹ he came face to face with the powerful and civilized monarchies of Hsi Hsia and Chin. Founded by a Tangut chief in the second half of the tenth century, Hsi Hsia had come to include the present Ning Hsia, the Ordos, and most of Kan-su. Thanks to a large and disciplined army,² and an advantageous geographical position the attacks of all its enemies had thus far been repelled. The Chin,³ as the Jürchät masters of North China were called, had appeared later upon the scene. Originally vassals of the Khitan or Liao, they revolted under Akuda (1113-1123), and after vanquishing their overlords, conquered an empire that embraced Manchuria, N. Korea, the country of the Öngüt, i.e. the greater part of the present Inner Mongolia, and China down to the Huai Ho and Ts'in-ling Shan.

Determined to protect their northern borders and anxious to see their authority recognized on the steppes, the Chin, throughout the twelfth century, made persistent efforts to prevent the creation of a nomad state that might one day threaten them. Though not always successful in their military ventures, they eventually succeeded in establishing their suzerainty over Eastern Mongolia.

By punitive expeditions and by encouraging war between Mongol and Tartar, they brought to an end the early greatness of both peoples. During the struggle with the Mongols they had cruelly put to death two Mongol chiefs handed over to them by the Tartars. So besides more important motives that would have drawn Chinghiz

¹ Vladimirtsov, *The Life of Chinghiz Khan*.

² During the reign of Chao Yuan-hao (1031-1048) the army of Hsi Hsia numbered 158,000 effectives. (Cordier, *Histoire Generale de La Chine et de ses relations avec les pays étrangers*, vol. ii.)

³ The Chinese word Chin (Golden) is used throughout when referring to the dynasty as it is better known than the Jürchät appellation of Aisin Khioro (Golden Court).

Khan south to attack Hsi Hsia and Chin, he had a blood feud to settle with the latter.

The failure of the Chin to obstruct Chinghiz Khan's rise to power requires some explanation. Before his victory over the Kerait in 1203 they may have thought that the coalitions formed by his bitter enemy Jamukha would stop him. But after the overwhelming defeat sustained by the T'ai-yang of the Naiman and his allies in 1204 it was apparent that a dangerous menace had arisen in the North. In 1205 the situation might still have been retrieved, since there were considerable Naiman and Märkit forces at large who would have welcomed an opportunity to co-operate with the empire against the common foe. Unfortunately, hostilities with the Sung loomed on the political horizon and the Chin, evidently fearing to risk two wars at once, took no action. In the spring of 1206 Chinghiz Khan's supremacy was acknowledged by nearly all the tribes from the Khinghan to the Western Altai, while Alaqush-Tägin, chief of the Öngüt, entered into an alliance.¹ North and south of the desert he thus challenged the authority of the Chin. The same year war with the Sung broke out, and though hostilities ceased as early as 1207 it was not until July or August, 1208, that peace was signed. By it the Sung were obliged to increase their annual tribute to the amount paid before the treaty of 1165, 250,000 oz. of gold, and to recognize the supremacy of the Chin ruler. Only then was the reigning emperor Madaku (1190-1208) able to turn his attention north.² That year he sent his uncle Wei Shao Wang on an embassy, ostensibly to receive the tribute formerly paid by Chinghiz Khan, but really, one surmises, to investigate.

Reaching the north, Wei Shao Wang was received by the Mongol ruler, but was shown scant courtesy. Concluding that this boded ill, he advised the emperor to attack Chinghiz Khan as soon as possible. However, Madaku died, and nothing could be undertaken until the succession of the new emperor. This proved to be Wei Shao Wang, who, under the title of Yüing-chi, ascended the throne in 1209.³

That year in November a call for aid came from the Hsi Hsia ruler Li An-ch'uan, who was besieged in his capital, Chung-hsing, by Chinghiz Khan. Several great officers advocated the despatch

¹ *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of A-la-hu-shih Ti-chi (Alaqush-Tägin).

² Known to the Chinese by his title Chang Tsung.

³ Sung Lien, *Yüan Shih*, translated by Krause (Cingis Han).

of an army to raise the siege, since they contended that Hsi Hsia vanquished, the Mongols could be counted upon to attack them. But the emperor replied that both belligerents were equally the enemies of Chin and refused to send any help.¹ After this blunder he shortly committed a second, and in 1210 arrogantly sent to make known his accession to the Mongols. His envoy informed Chinghiz Khan that Yüing-chi had become emperor and said that the news must be acknowledged by a *k'ê-t'ou*. Chinghiz Khan asked who the new emperor was, and on being told that he was Wei Shao Wang, turned his face south and spat. "I thought," he exclaimed, "that the ruler of the Middle Kingdom must be from Heaven. Can he be a person of such weakness as the prince of Wei? Why should I *k'ê-t'ou* for him!" He then mounted his horse and rode away.² The *Yüan Shih* says that, enraged at his envoy's report, Yüing-chi resolved to slay Chinghiz Khan when he should come with tribute. Apparently the envoy never dared repeat Chinghiz Khan's exact words, or Yüing-chi could not have failed to perceive that his position as universal Emperor had been challenged and that war was inevitable.

Even early the next year (1211), when Na-ho-mai-chu, Commander of the Northern frontier, reported that the Mongols were preparing for war, and pointed out that since there was peace between them and Hsi Hsia, an invasion of the empire must be imminent, Yüing-chi refused to take heed. Instead, he declared that Na-ho-mai-chu's conduct was responsible for Chinghiz Khan's hostility and had him thrown into prison.³

It is hard to understand Yüing-Chi's blindness, especially after his own advice three years earlier to the emperor Madaku. Conceivably he believed that the Mongol cavalry was too exhausted by the invasion of Hsi Hsia to make an immediate attack likely. If such was his idea he was gravely mistaken. The Mongols were in no such difficulty, and Chinghiz Khan, thoroughly aware that the continuance and stability of his work depended on breaking the power of the Chin, had decided to take advantage of the crippling blow dealt Hsi Hsia to invade the empire at once.

At that period in his career territorial acquisitions in China formed

¹ Wu Kuang-ch'êng, *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*, 1825.

² Sung Lien, *Yüan Shih*, trans. Krause (Gingis Han).

³ T'u Chi, *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*; De Mailla, *Histoire Generale de La Chine* (translated from the *T'ung-chien Kang-mu* and other sources), published 1779.

no part of his plans. Beyond all else he wished to crush the military strength of the Chin and to efface the political supremacy of the emperor. Since the days of the Turkish Empire the ruler of China had been for the people of the Northern steppes the greatest monarch on earth, so that it was necessary for Chinghiz Khan to vindicate his own claim to supreme authority by forcing the Chin ruler to pay tribute and recognize his overlordship.¹ Added to this, there was no better means of increasing his popularity and hold upon the recently united tribesmen than an expedition to China, with the prospect of looting its fabulous riches. Such were the real reasons for the war, but wishing to justify his aggression in the eyes of the world, he appealed to the vendetta existing between his family and the Chin since the twelfth century. Before setting out he ascended a high mountain and implored heaven's help.² "O eternal heaven," cried he, "I am armed to avenge the blood of my uncles Okin-barkak and Ambagai whom the Altan Khans slew with ignominy. If you approve, lend me help from on high and permit that here on earth men, as well as spirits good and bad, assist me."³

When Chinghiz Khan took this momentous decision he was already sure of the situation south of the desert. He knew that he could depend upon the amity of Alaqush-Tägin of the Öngüt. Nearer to events north of the desert than the Chin, the Öngüt ruler had early perceived in Chinghiz Khan a leader of outstanding political and military ability. So, despite a special treaty with the Naiman over tribal intermarriage, Alaqush-Tägin refused to join the coalition of 1204. His biography asserts that though urged by certain of his officers to take the part of the T'ai-yang, he felt so unequal to a contest with the Mongols that he not only refused, but after informing Chinghiz Khan what was afoot, marched to join him. For this he was rewarded in 1206 by the title of hereditary ruler of 1,000 families and was made Commander of 5,000 troops.⁴

¹ Grenard, *Gengis Khan*.

² The mountain ascended by Chinghiz Khan was probably a peak in the Burkhan Khalduna (the present Khentei Khan), sacred to him since his early days.

³ D'Ohsson, *Rashid ad-Din*. Among the Mongols the Chin emperors were known as The Altan or Golden Khans.

⁴ *Meng-wu-erh Shih*, Biography of A-la-hu-shih Ti-chi (Alaqush-Tägin). The honours bestowed on Alaqush-Tägin by Chinghiz Khan at this date can have been no more than titular.

Although the Chin would certainly have sent an army to assist Alaqush-Tāgin if attacked by the Mongols, it would not have saved his possessions from considerable damage. But since peace still existed between Chinghiz Khan and the Chin, there was no legal reason why the Öngüt chief should not enter into relations with the Mongol Khan, though later the Chin would doubtless have brought him to account for such independence.

East of the Öngüt, in the country of the Upper Liao Ho, dwelt the Khitan, who in 1161-2 had unsuccessfully rebelled against the Chin.¹ There, too, Chinghiz Khan perhaps hoped to get help, but as far as one can ascertain no contact of any importance was made until he had amply demonstrated the superiority of his army over that of the Chin. It is of interest, however, to learn that in 1206 an invitation to invade the empire had come from Liao-tung, where Ta Pien, the Ai Wang of Chin, was in revolt. But Chinghiz Khan was not then ready for war, and turned the offer down, since he wished first to deal with Hsi Hsia.²

As regards the situation within the empire, Chinghiz Khan was well informed. Since 1208 there had been in his camp a number of Chin malcontents, the principal of whom, Li Tsao and T'ien Kuang-ming, must have told him much of value concerning political economic, and military conditions.³ Other useful informants were the Öngüt, and perhaps even more important the Moslem merchants, in whose hands was most of the trade between China and Central Asia. Acquainted with many highways and districts in the empire and having connections in the most varied quarters, they were admirably fitted to provide Chinghiz Khan with detailed reports.⁴

But the conqueror's greatest asset was his army. Although it is outside the scope of this article to go into a detailed account of it, a few remarks may not be out of place.⁵ Military service being compulsory, all able-bodied males from sixteen to sixty-one years of age could be mobilized in time of war. The entire force was mounted, and by universal report its horsemanship and archery were outstanding and its discipline superb.

¹ Cordier, *Histoire Generale de La Chine et de ses relations avec les pays étrangers*, vol. ii.

² Wei Yuan, *Yuan Shih Hsin Pien*.

³ *Hsi Hsia Chi-shih Pên-mo*; *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*.

⁴ Vladimirtsov, *The Life of Chinghiz Khan*.

⁵ The Mongol army has already formed the subject of a separate monograph.

Following the custom long in usage among the nomads of the North, it consisted of three main forces, namely the army of the Left-wing or East, the army of the Right-wing or West, and the army of the Centre or Main Ordu. This arrangement referred to its territorial distribution and had nothing to do with its formation on the field. The organization of these forces was on a decimal basis, the strongest unit being the Tümen, or 10,000. Each such Tümen was divided into ten regiments of one thousand, each regiment into ten squadrons of one hundred, and each squadron into ten troops of ten.

Our principal sources of information for the army's numerical strength are Rashid ad-Din and the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*. According to the edition of the former, used by D'Ohsson, the Mongol army proper at the death of Chinghiz Khan in 1227 numbered 129,000 effectives; 62,000 in the army of the Left-wing, 38,000 in the army of the Right-wing, 1,000 picked men in the centre, which was also the Imperial Guard, 4,000 in each of the guards of the princes Jüchi, Jaghtai, and Ögö dai, and 16,000 divided among the other members of the Imperial family. Erdman, drawing on a different edition of Rashid ad-Din, gives a total of 230,000; the Khan's guard 1,000, the Centre 101,000, the Left-wing 52,000, the Right-wing 47,000, the guards of Jüchi, Jaghtai, and Ögö dai 4,000 men each, and the rest of the Imperial family 17,000.¹ Despite the discrepancies in these two enumerations, Erdman's 101,000 for the Centre alone raises his total above that of D'Ohsson. It is here that the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih* is of great value. Practically ignoring all other units of the army, it provides a detailed account of the Imperial Guard or Kāshik, which it treats as the army of the Centre and says was 10,000 strong. Included in this 10,000, says Barthold (see Chinghiz Khan, *Enc. Isl.*), was a specially picked 1,000 that only took the field when Chinghiz Khan went to war—without a doubt the same 1,000 mentioned by D'Ohsson and Erdman.

Since Outer Mongolia could never have raised 230,000 fighting men, D'Ohsson's figure of 129,000 would seem nearer the mark, but we should probably substitute for his 1,000 men of the Guard

¹ As regards the troops of the three princes, the small forces referred to were but a fraction of their troops, the majority of which, as Barthold says (*Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*), came from appanages conquered outside Mongolia as the empire expanded. The fourth son Tolui received, by traditional right of inheritance, the Guard (Kāshik) and the Left- and Right-wing armies at his father's death.

the 10,000 given by the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*. This would make the Mongol army proper 138,000 strong, which was a force the country could easily have put into the field.¹

The army's battle formation seems to have closely resembled that of the Jürchät in their early days, i.e. consisted of five ranks, two heavily armoured in front and three lightly armoured behind, squadrons of these being arranged so as to allow intervals between them. When battle was decided upon scouts were sent out to study the ground and the strength and position of the enemy. Action begun, all manoeuvres were directed from the station taken up by the senior commander, whose orders were transmitted by flag signals and bugle calls, or at night by lamp and fire signals. The light troops opened the engagement by riding forward and discharging volleys of arrows into ranks of the enemy. If these broke his order, the shock troops charged to strike a decisive blow.

At the time hostilities began with the Chin, Chinghiz Khan had at his disposal no more than the Mongol army proper, and not as later, many thousand additional troops recruited from among the Öngüt, Khitan, Solang (Solon), Jürchät, Mukhri, Khirghiz, and nomad peoples of Qara Khitay.² Numerically the Mongol forces were therefore much inferior to those of the Chin. But they had extreme mobility and unsurpassed leadership. Victorious over Hsi Hsia, where much valuable experience had been gained concerning the military methods of civilized states, the Mongol army and its leaders were confident of success. Yet they had before them a formidable task.

The Chin empire, though on the decline, was, as Vladimirtsov remarks, by no means a colossus on feet of clay.³ Its prestige was very great and the central government strong. Unlike the Khwarazmian Empire, it suffered from none of those disorders that

¹ What is known of the population of Outer Mongolia makes it unlikely that in Chinghiz Khan's day the people were much more numerous than now. A recent Soviet census estimates them at 800,000. If to this be added the Mongols of Buryat Mongolia and former North Chakhar, a total of about 1,000,000 is reached, which may well approximate to the population when Chinghiz Khan's work of unification was completed.

² As regards the Jürchäts in the army, we know that some marched with Muqali in 1217, but they cannot have been numerous as there is every indication that the majority continued to resist the Mongols until the extinction of their power by Ögötai (1229-41). The same may also have been true of the Mukhri or Mo-ho who were closely related.

³ Vladimirtsov, *The Life of Chinghiz Khan*.

helped Chinghiz Khan to overthrow Muhammad Shah who was at odds with the Islamic clergy and the queen mother Turkan Khatun.

More fortunate than the Moslem ruler, whose key economic areas, Sogdiana and Khwarazm, were exposed to devastation as soon as the line of the Syr Darya was crossed, the comparable but larger areas held by the Chin in Ho-nan and Kuan-chung (Shen-hsi and E. Kan-su) remained protected by the Huang Ho long after the subsidiary economic regions to the north were lost.

Generally, until 1210, the situation within the empire was fairly sound, but after that year, periodic famines added to the havoc wrought by the Mongols. Together these caused desertion of the land and, its attendant evil, peasant risings, the most serious of which broke out in Shan-tung in the shape of the Red Coats. Till then a series of good years, and the annual tribute wrung from the Sung, had enabled the country to enjoy a considerable degree of prosperity.¹

The population, according to the returns for the year 1195, numbered 48,490,000. This figure, of course, covers only those taxed and does not take into account the very poor or such persons as evaded the revenue collector. Of the total, 6,158,636 made up the population from which the army was drawn and was supported by the rental collected from government lands.² The army therefore had a nominal strength of approximately 600,000, perhaps about 120,000 being mounted bowmen from the Jürchät, Solang (Solon), Mukri, Khitan, and Öngüt, while most of the rest were Chinese foot soldiers.

Originally composed entirely of cavalry, the Chin army added large numbers of infantry during the wars with the Sung. Hence its organization was modified to enable the use of both arms, and so long as operations were against similar forces, such as those of Hsi Hsia or against the Sung, whose army was mostly infantry, it was usually successful. On the eve of the Mongol invasion it had given ample proof of its fighting power, and in 1206, 145,000 troops had marched into the Sung empire, which was forced to sue for peace the following year (1207).³

¹ *Chin Shih*; Mabel Ping Hua Li, *The Economic History of China*, Agrarian conditions and measures under the Chin.

² E. H. Parker, *China*.

³ Cordier, *Histoire Generale de La Chine et de ses relations avec les pays étrangers*, vol. ii.

Besides their army, the Chin also possessed impressive defences. South of the Mongol plateau, in the valleys of the Sang-Kan Ho and Yang Ho, were the heavily fortified cities of Hsi Ching (Western Capital),¹ Tê-hsing Chou, and Hsüan-Tê Chou, and to the north-west and south-west of the capital Chung Tu (modern Peiking) the nearly impregnable forts of Chü-yung Kuan and Tzü-ching Kuan.

Both these strongholds were situated on the so-called Inner Wall, but in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the great Wall system enjoyed considerably less importance than it has during several other periods of Chinese history. So, when Chinghiz Khan appeared upon the stage, it is likely that the famous rampart was in a state of disrepair. Nevertheless, in the last years of the twelfth century two walls were built or added to far beyond the Great Wall proper. One of these extended along the Khinghan escarpment between the Khitan and the Kungirat,² and the other along the outer fringe of the Southern Mongolian grasslands. This latter, [running from the Khinghan to the frontiers of Hsi Hsia, was known to the Chinese as the Wai pao and to the nomads as the Öngü. It was the charge of this rampart, falling under the jurisdiction of the commander for the north-west, that had given to its guardians their name of Öngüt.³ As military works, neither can have been intended to withstand more than raiding expeditions.

In his *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, Owen Lattimore has stressed the fact that contrary to the common conception of a once purely pastoral Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, parts of both have also long been the scene of rural and urban activity. Lying between the cities and agricultural lands of China and South Manchuria on one side, and the prairies of Western Manchuria and Outer Mongolia on the other, these intermediate regions have been moulded by Chinese as well as by pastoral influences. Hence, then as now, small towns grew up and flourished in direct contact with the nomad, and in the time of Chinghiz Khan a string of such towns—Huan Chou, Ch'ang Chou, Fu Chou, Ching Chou, Fêng Chou, and Yün-nei

¹ The present city of Ta-T'ung.

² This was the old Khitan frontier wall which was repaired in 1181. See Joseph Mullié, *Les Anciens villes d'empires des Grandes Leao au Royaume Mongol de Barin*, T'oung Pao, 1922.

³ *Mêng-wu-erh Shih*; Palladius, *The Book of Marco Polo*; Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême Orient*, T'oung Pao, 1914.

—stretched along the southern edge of the Öngüt prairies.¹ The area thus formed a social, economic, and political borderland between China and tribes of the north.

As on every occasion when the nomad came in close and constant touch with the civilization of China, he acquired various non-pastoral interests, and as often as not looked to China rather than the North for leadership. It was this that in 1204 may have caused certain of the Öngüt nobility to oppose Alaquash-Tägin's treaty with Chinghiz Khan. The exact issue at stake is unknown, but perhaps the disaffected aristocracy feared that Mongol overlordship would spell finis to their non-pastoral sources of wealth, while the prince believed that the only way to safety was alliance with the rising power.

The map will make plain what his decision meant. The conqueror obtained a friend on the very threshold of Chin territory, and when the time came the Mongols could be sure of a free passage through the Wai pao. But even had no such friendship existed, Chinghiz Khan would doubtless have forced his way through the Öngüt realm. Elsewhere the empire was extremely difficult to penetrate. On the west it was covered by Hsi Hsia and the Huang Ho, on the north-east by forests and to the east by the sea. Behind the line of the Khinghan lay the principal recruiting grounds of the Imperial Cavalry. So it was a territory where much hard fighting could be expected and no loot comparable to that accumulated in the cities of China.

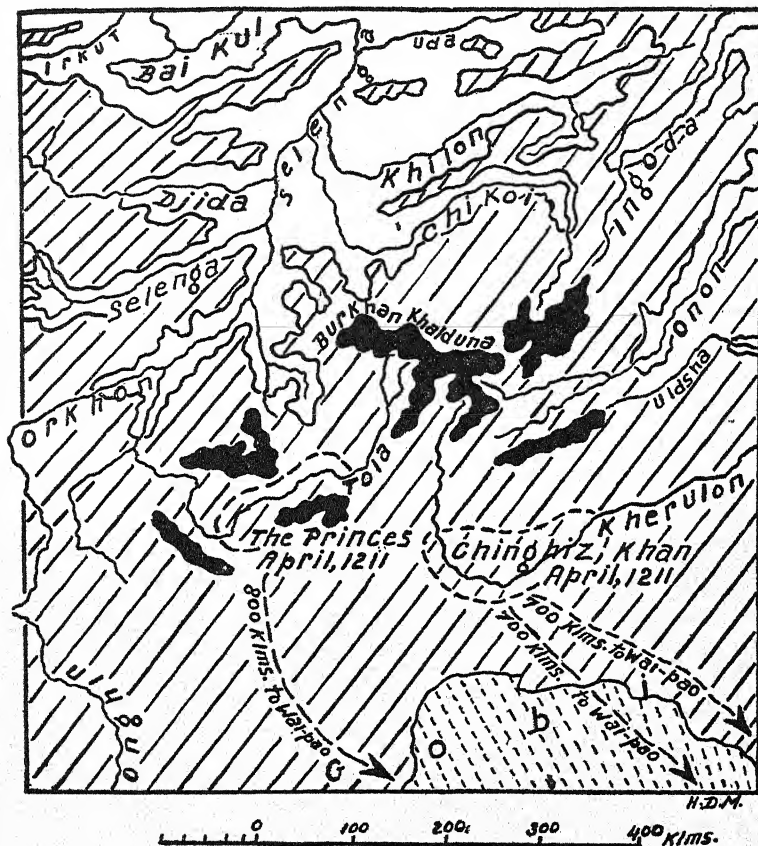
The details of Chinghiz Khan's plan of campaign have not come down to us, but from subsequent developments it is evident that he hoped to divide the Chin by breaking into the empire simultaneously at two different points. The Central and Left-wing armies were to strike in the neighbourhood of Huan Chou and Ta-shui-luan, and the Left-wing army at Ching Chou in the west.²


¹ See Joseph Mullié, T'oung Pao, 1922; Palladius, *The Book of Marco Polo*, Yule, Cordier; D'Ohsson, Rashid ad-Din; *The Journey of Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'ün*, Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, p. 47.

² The advance of the princes to Ching Chou is largely a matter of speculation, but it is based on the reports of the *Yüan-Shêng-wu Ch'in-chêng-lu*, the *Yüan Shih*, and the *Méng-wu-érh Shih*, which refer to all places captured by the Mongols in present Sui-yüan and N. Shan-hsi as falling to the Right-Wing army.

As regards the location of Ching Chou, the *Chung Kuo Ku-chin Ti-ming Ta-Tz'u-Tien* and Hermann, *Atlas of China*, both locate it in Sui-yüan, but give no specific situation. However, on the Shara Muren, Sui-yüan, there is a ruin, now known as

To facilitate the advance of these forces and to overcome the difficulty of feeding a vast number of horses in one place, the western army must have concentrated on the Tola, and the eastern army



 Probable concentration areas before departure for the South.

Boro Baishing, which from a neighbouring Nestorian inscription seems to date from the Chin period. Though very dilapidated, its strategic position and the remains of many bastions on the walls indicate that it was a place of considerable military importance. Joseph Mullié, *T'oung Pao*, 1922, quoting from the annals of the Chin dynasty, says that Ching Chou stood some 80 li (approximately 24 miles) south of the rampart constructed by the emperor Madaku (1190-1208). To-day, 79 li or 80 li north of Boro Baishing, there stretches an old wall, which must be Madaku's work, i.e. the Wai pao or Öngü. It is therefore assumed that Boro Baishing on the Upper Shara Muren is the ruin of Ching Chou—see map.

along the Kherulon. Southward, in both the regions to be attacked, good grazing abounded, and should the Chin, as expected, march thither and give battle, the terrain was admirably adapted to Mongol tactics.

By February, 1211, preparations for the campaign were nearly complete, and Chinghiz Khan, who was camped on the River Kerulon,¹ sent Tokuchar with 2,000 men to mount guard on the western border.² It is often concluded that no other troops were left in the North, but considering the proximity of Kūchlug the Naiman, this is unlikely.³ Chinghiz Khan must have left behind a much greater force, perhaps 20,000 or more troops of the line, plus Tokuchar and a crack unit of 2,000 guardsmen (Kāchiktan), the whole force probably coming under the supreme command of Temūge Ochighin his youngest brother.⁴ So the army of invasion can hardly have exceeded 110,000 effectives. Of these one may suppose that about 70,000 formed the Central and Left-wing armies and some 40,000 the Right-wing army.⁵ Leading the first force with Chinghiz Khan himself were Muqali, General-in-Chief of the Left-wing army, Jebe, and Sübötai, and doubtless Jūchi Khassar and Tului, the conqueror's eldest brother and youngest son.⁶ In command of the other were the princes Jūchi, Jaghatai, and Ögötai, and presumably Bo'orchu or Bogorchu, General-in-Chief of the Right-wing army.⁷ Besides these famous commanders there were three others who particularly distinguished themselves in the war: Chakhan, a Tangout and adopted son of

¹ *Yüan Shih*; *Hsin Yüan Shih*; *Méng-wu-érh Shih*.

² *Yüan Shéng-wu Ch'in-chéng-lu*, commentaries by Wang Kuo-wei.

³ It was not until 1218 that Kūchlug was overthrown and slain by an army under Jebe.

⁴ When Chinghiz Khan marched west against the Khwarazmian Empire in 1219, Temūge Ochighin was put in command of all troops left in Outer Mongolia.

⁵ The armies of the Centre and Left-wing perhaps included 8,000 men of the Guard (Kāchik), the majority of troops belonging to the Left-wing army and contingents from various members of the Imperial Family. The Right-wing army must have counted most of the prince's guardsmen and all the men of the Right-wing army except those left to guard the north.

⁶ Gaubil mentions both, but his source of information is unknown. (See *Histoire de Gentchiscan et de toute La Dinastie des Mongous ses successeurs conquérant de La China*.) However, on every other expedition led by Chinghiz Khan in person Tolui was present, while it is well known that Jūchi Khassar took an important part in the invasion of 1213-14. (See *Yüan Shih* and "*Méng-wu-érh Shih*".)

⁷ In 1220, during the invasion of Khwarazm, Bogorchu marched with the princes to besiege Gurganj. (Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*.)

Chinghiz Khan,¹ and two Khitan brothers of royal lineage, Yeh-lü A-hai (Aqai) and Yeh-lü T'u-hua (Tuqa).² During the closing years of the twelfth century, these two Khitans had been sent by the Chin to reside at the court of Toghrul the Wang Khan. There they frequently met Chinghiz Khan, and on war breaking out between him and his Kerait suzerain entered the service of the Mongol, with whom they remained. Since both were well acquainted with the country north of the Great Wall, Chinghiz Khan now attached Tuqa to Jebe's staff and Aqai to that of the princes.

Chinghiz Khan's departure from the Kerulon is dated by Sung Lien in February and by T'u Chi and K'ê Shao-ming in April. Nothing is said by any of the three about the crossing of the Gobi, but T'u Chi affirms that in May Chinghiz Khan reached Ta-shui-luan. Since Sung Lien's narrative for 1211 is rather confused, and April and May provide better marching conditions in the Gobi than February, T'u Chi and K'ê Shao-ming would seem to be right. Further, the date of Chinghiz Khan's arrival at Ta-shui-luan allows all the time necessary to move from the Kerulon to the prairies south of the desert. A start in April would also have given the grass-fed Mongol horses an opportunity to put on weight after their winter in the open.

The Mongol line of march can only be conjectured. The Central and Left-wing armies possibly went from the Kerulon in two bodies, one by a road approximating to the present caravan highway from the river to Dolon Nor, and the other over or parallel to the most easterly of the main routes now connecting Urga and Kalgan.³ Although in parts a barren waste, the region has been successfully traversed by larger forces than that of Chinghiz Khan. In 1696 the Manchu emperor K'ang-hsi led 108,000 soldiers, with many thousand non-combatants, over the same country.⁴ Holding a course west of the two eastern columns, the princes probably advanced from the River Tola to the Khorio Gol, along or near the

¹ "Yüan Shih," Biography of Ch'a-han (Chakhan).

² "Mêng-wu-êrh Shih," Biographies of Yeh-lü A-hai (Aqai) and Yeh-lü T'u-hua (Tuqa). Yeh-lü was the name of the ruling Khitan clan, whose empire the Chin overthrew between 1113 and 1123.

³ The more easterly of the two columns may have consisted entirely of Left-wing army troops under Muqali and perhaps Sübötai. The other column was probably made up of the Guard (Kächik), certain troops of the Left-wing army, and contingents from various members of the Imperial Family.

⁴ Maurice Courant, *L'Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou* ?

present Urga-Kalgan highway that joins the road from Uliassatai.¹ From the Khorio Gol it is an easy march to the Upper Shara Muren, and the princes very likely arrived before Ching Chou, about the same time that Chinghiz Khan appeared on the Upper Luan Ho.

The distance covered by the eastern armies was rather under 500 miles, that marched by the western approximately 530. Notwithstanding a considerable expanse of Gobi, the routes indicated have a limited supply of water in wells and water holes. This might have been insufficient for so great a host of men and horses, but the Mongols must have timed their advance to avoid a shortage. During early spring the normal supply of water is augmented by melted snow in clay troughs and hollows along the way, and these, as well as the grazing and topography of the land, would have been explored by scouts before the army set out.²

On some marches depots were established in advance, so that livestock, principally sheep, could be picked up on route.³ This time the grazing was poor and must all have been needed for the army's mounts, at least 330,000 in number, so the troops presumably depended upon iron rations until the territory of the Öngüt was reached. For an army of a civilized state the provisioning of 110,000 men on such a march would constitute a major commissariat problem. But the ability of the Mongols to travel great distances on quantities of food quite inadequate for civilized troops must have enabled them to carry everything on their remounts.

Doubtless each column moved tümen by tümen at regular intervals, in order not to exhaust the water on the road by too great a demand on it at once. Also it is likely that each such body made use of the terrain to extend its front some ten or twelve miles, thus advancing as a group of minor units, all in touch with one another and ready to unite if required.

In front will have gone a screen of scouts, with couriers to keep touch between them and the troops they covered. Although never less than 180 miles and sometimes as many as 230 miles separated

¹ For the present day routes over the Gobi, see the British General Staff Map of Asia, sheet 22 (Mongolia), published 1931; the *Pei-chih-na Ti T'u* (map of N. China), published by Kobayashi, Tokyo; A. Hermann, *Atlas of China*, published at the Harvard University Press, 1935.

² Later in the summer this additional supply of water is practically all dried up.

³ Such advance depots appear to have been established along the first stages of the march west to the frontiers of the Khwarazmian Empire in 1219.

Chinghiz Khan from the princes, one may be certain that communication between them never failed.

They reached the Öngüt frontier in May. The Öngü or Wai pao was crossed without opposition, and while the advance forces of the Eastern armies under Jebe and Sübötai respectively took Ta-shui-luan and Huan Chou, the princes captured Ching Chou.¹ Chinghiz Khan then suspended operations, and camping perhaps at Ta-shui-luan, passed the summer resting his men and horses and awaiting a move on the part of the Chin.²

Whilst thus inactive, he received a visit from Alaqush-Tägin, who came to offer the service of his troops. Encouraged by this fresh show of friendship, Chinghiz Khan proposed a marriage alliance and gave his daughter Alaghi-bäki to the prince's eldest son.³ He must also have made use of the respite to bring south several thousand head of sheep, for his Öngüt host could not have fed the invading army indefinitely.

Meanwhile, Yüing-chi had been apprised of what had taken place, and regretting his hasty imprisonment of Na-ho-mai-chu, set him free. Nien-ho-ho-ta, Commander for the north-west, was then directed to try and negotiate peace with Chinghiz Khan, but his overtures failed. The Chin had therefore no choice but to fight.⁴

Too late to prevent the Mongols establishing themselves in the Öngüt country, the Chin determined to arrest any further progress south. Wan-yen Hu-sha and Tu-chi Ch'ien-chia-nu, joint Commanders of Hsüan-tê Chou, were ordered to march to Fu Chou and begin raising fortifications at Wu-sha pao.⁵ Simultaneously, instructions

¹ The *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of Chê-pieh (Jebe), specifically states that in the fourth month (14th May to 13th June) the Mongol vanguard under Jebe took Ta-shui-luan, while the Biography of Su-pieh-u-t'ai (Sübötai) says that the latter captured Huan Chou. In the main text of the *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih* the fall of Huan Chou is dated for the seventh month (10th August to 12th September). However, it doubtless fell much earlier in May or June.

Ching Chou is listed in the *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih* among the places occupied by the princes up to the ninth month (9th October to 10th November), but it very likely succumbed in May or June.

² *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*.

³ *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of A-la-hu-shih Ti-chi (Alaqush-Tägin).

⁴ *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*.

⁵ *T'ung-chien Chi-lan*; *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*.

Wan-yen, which Pelliot believes is the Jürchät corruption of the Chinese word Wang (Prince), was always prefixed to the names of those belonging to the Imperial family. Hu-sha, Na-ho-mai-chu, etc., are Chinese renderings of Jürchät names.

were sent out for another and larger army to go and build similar works along the Yeh-hu ling to the south of Fu Chou.

■ The former of these locations covered Wei-ning and the roads running from it to the south-west and south-east and served as a base from which to protect Fu Chou. The latter, even better situated in relation to Fu Chou, straddled the highway between this town and Hsüan-p'ing and blocked the Huan-êrh-Tsui and Ts'ui-p'ing K'ou defile. All direct approach to Hsi Ching and Hsüan-Tê Chou was thus barred.

Our records make no mention of any troops being despatched towards Ching Chou, yet troops could have been sent and the Chin have enjoyed a considerable margin of numerical superiority over both Mongol armies. Instead we find them massing an overwhelming force to deal with Chinghiz Khan alone. Evidently they believed the best way to end the invasion was to strike a shattering blow at its leader. So they assembled the flower of their troops for an advance on the eastern army, and resigned themselves to the possible devastation of the north-west by the western army. Victorious over Chinghiz Khan, they could expect the retreat of the princes.

Though the size of the army under Wan-yen Hu-sha and his colleague is unknown, the other was more than twice the strength of that under Chinghiz Khan, so that at least some of the Chin had formed a very high opinion of the Mongol war machine. Doubtless they had got reliable reports of the terrible reverses suffered by the Tangut in 1209. Realizing that their cavalry was inferior to that of the invaders, they refused to split up their forces, and Chinghiz Khan found himself the object of an unexpectedly powerful counter offensive.¹

In this dilemma he might have tried to divert part of the enemy by sending a force south across the Tu-shih K'ou to make a feint at the capital. Had such a force approached Chung Tu it is more than likely that the Chin would have detached troops to meet it. But the way over the Tu-Shih K'ou lies through rough and mountainous country and might easily have held a trap. The conqueror's other alternative was to order the princes to come and join him.

¹ It was probably this cavalry inferiority that discouraged the Chin from launching a flank attack from the Khinghan. For though first class, the Imperial cavalry in Manchuria can hardly have been numerous enough to oppose the invading armies single handed.

In the end the communication difficulties of the enemy saved him from having to adopt either course.

Then, as to-day, there were no more than three roads leading to the foot of the plateau on which Wei-ning and Fu Chou stood. The most important of these began at Chung Tu, and after winding through the Chü-yung Kuan defile, passed along the lower reaches of the Yang Ho to Hui-ho pao. The other two started from Hsi Ching, one going via the Sang-Kan Ho and Tê-hsing Chou to the city of Hsüan-Tê Chou, while the other followed the upper Yang Ho to join the road from the east.

Since many of the troops bound for the Yeh-hu ling were from the department of Hsi Ching, they could have used the two latter routes. But the rest, probably the larger part including most of the cavalry, came from the east, and would have had to travel by the other road. Unfortunately the army of Wan-yen Hu-sha and Tu-chi Ch'ien-chia-nu also had to use it. For both forces to march simultaneously was impossible. The Chin were therefore obliged to send the two commanders on ahead. Instructed to raise defences at Wu-sha pao, they must have been told to remain encamped until the arrival of the other army at the Yeh-hu ling. During August they reached their destination and began work. Apprised of this, Chinghiz Khan immediately seized the chance of dealing with the two armies separately. Jebe and Yeh-lü Tuqa were ordered to try to surprise the generals before they could either finish their defences or retreat to Fu Chou.¹

The blow met with unqualified success and the Chin, attacked unexpectedly before the completion of their work, were defeated and forced to retire to Hsüan-ping.² Jebe then destroyed Wu-sha pao and Wu-yüeh Ying³ and moved on Wei-ning. Defending the town were two officers, Liu Po-lin and Chia-ku Ch'ang ku. Feeling that the place had little hope of resisting, Liu Po-lin escaped over the walls by a rope and went and offered his submission to Jebe. Well received by the Mongol Commander, he was told to return with Tuqa and persuade the town to surrender. This he did, and retained in his rank of Commander of 1,000, was ordered to help the

¹ *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biographies of Chê-pieh (Jebe) and Yeh-lü T'u-hua (Tuqa).

² *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*; *Chin Shih*, Biography of Wan-yen Hu-sha; *Ssü Ch'ao Pieh Shih*.

³ Wu-yüeh Ying is not to be found on any map, nor is it mentioned in any historical geography of Chinese place-names that I have been able to consult.

Khitan to gain the capitulation of other towns in the region.¹ The names of these are not recorded, but Chi-ning (see map) will have been among them. After that Jebe rejoined Chinghiz Khan, who had arrived at Fu Chou with the rest of the army. Unlike Wei-ning, the town resisted and had to be carried by storm.² The same fate may also have overtaken its neighbour Ch'ang Chou, though one simply learns that it fell.

Still camped at Fu Chou in September or October, Chinghiz Khan received news that the second army had reached the Yeh-hu ling and was raising defence works.³ As general-in-chief the Chin had appointed the Commander of Hsi Ching, Kê-shih-lieh Chih-chung.⁴ This officer, though unpopular in certain quarters, enjoyed considerable influence with the Emperor and had made a name in the war with the Sung (1206-7). Under him were Ting Hsüeh or Ta Shih, in command of the vanguard, and Wan-yen Wu-nu as Inspector-General. At the same time, the recently defeated Wan-yen Hu-sha was ordered to join with his forces and give the other commanders the benefit of his experience.⁵

According to various estimates, Chih-chung's host numbered 300,000, 400,000, or 500,000 men.⁶ At first these figures seem vast exaggerations, but they probably included large numbers of non-combatants. In 1696 K'ang-hsi crossed Eastern Mongolia with 108,000 effectives, and at the beginning of the expedition these were accompanied by four times as many non-combatants.⁷ The

¹ *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of Yeh-lu T'u-hua (Tuqa), Biography of Liu Po-lin. In the latter it is implied that Chinghiz Khan and not Jebe was before Wei-ning, but this must be a mistake.

² *Yüan Shih*, Biography of Ch'in-k'ai (Chinkai)—see excerpt in Arthur Waley's *Ch'ang-ch'ün*.

³ The *Yüan Shêng-wu Ch'in-chêng-lu* says that Chinghiz Khan was preparing to leave Fu Chou, the *T'ung-chien Chi-lan* that he was on the point of making another drive south. Probably Chinghiz Khan only intended to move camp for hygienic and other reasons, as it was to his advantage to remain north and give battle where the terrain was advantageous to the favourite tactics of his army.

⁴ The commander was also known as Kê-shih-lieh Chiu-chin and Kê-shih-lieh Hu-sha-hu (see *Yüan-Shêng-wu Ch'in-chêng lu* and *Chin Shih*, Biography of Kê-shih-lieh Chih-chung).

⁵ *T'ung-chien Chi-lan*; *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*.

⁶ The *Yüan Shih* and the *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih* say 300,000; the *Hsin Yüan Shih*, *T'ung-chien Chi-lan*, and *Yüan Ch'ao Ming-ch'eng Shih Liao*, Biography of Mu-hua-li (Muqali), 400,000, and the *Mêng Ta Pei Lu*, *Pai T'a-T'a*, commentary by Wang Kuo-wei, 500,000.

⁷ In 1696 K'ang-hsi moved across Eastern Mongolia with three columns of 36,000 men each. To oppose him Galdan had no more than 30,000 all told. Prior

Empire's opponent was then Galdan, so to oppose Chinghiz Khan, a far more formidable antagonist than the Dzungar Khan, 150,000 effectives may easily have been mobilized, and to carry supplies and to labour on the fortifications at the Yeh-hu ling an equally great number of workmen. The *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih* refers to the host as the main army of the Chin, composed of Khitan and Nü-chin (Jürchät) troops.¹

With them, says the *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, were numbers of Chinese infantry, but it was the former, mounted archers like the Mongols, that constituted the army's main strength.

Chinghiz Khan, after his losses at Wu-sha pao and Fu Chou, and with men left to hold communications, cannot have had more than 65,000 troops. Had he been reinforced by the Öngüt one might add at least another 10,000, but the Biography of Alaqush-Tägin says that the prince was left by Chinghiz Khan to hold his own country.² This was doubtless done to prevent desertion at a critical moment by those of the Öngüt still hostile to the alliance of 1204.³

Separated by not more than 12 to 15 miles, a clash between the two armies was inevitable. Despite the importance of the ensuing operations, all available accounts are lacking in detail.⁴ The *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*, which is by far the earliest record, merely says that the Mongol army of the centre encountered and defeated the main forces of the enemy. The *Yüan Shêng-wu Ch'in-chêng-lu* is much fuller. According to it: "after the Chin army had reached the Yeh-hu ling, a Khitan officer of the staff came to Chih-chung and said: 'Since the capture of Fu Chou, the Mongols have become

to the revolt of his nephews, Tsé Wang Araptan and Serüing Dunduk, Galdan could have mustered 50,000 to 60,000 troops. (Courant, *L'Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou* ?)

¹ The term Jürchät may here cover the Mukri or Mo-ho as well as the Jürchät rulers of N. China. Prior to the twelfth century the Chinese divided the Jürchät into two branches: the Mukri or civilized Jürchät, who founded the state of Po-hai in the seventh century, and the uncivilized Jürchät led to power by Äkuda (1113-1123). For information on the Jürchät, see *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers a La Chine*, by Ma Tuan-lin, section on the Nü-chin or Nü-chih.

² The *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of A-la-hu-shih Ti-chi (Alaqush-Tägin), says that among the forces left with Muqali in 1217 were 10,000 Wang-ku (Öngüt) under the command of Chên Kuo, nephew of Alaqush-Tägin.

³ *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of A-la-hu-shih Ti-chi (Alaqush-Tägin).

⁴ The *Yüan Shih* provides little information on the subject and has mistakenly reported a battle at the Yeh-hu ling for 1211 and a second at Huan-erh-tsui for 1212.

much occupied with their booty and their horses are grazing loose near the town, so if we now attack them with our cavalry they will be unprepared and we shall win a decisive victory.' Chih-chung, however, thought otherwise. 'In their present position,' he replied, 'the enemy are not easy to overthrow, but to-morrow we will make a combined onslaught with both cavalry and infantry, which will be surer than what you suggest.'

"When Chinghiz Khan was informed that the Chin cavalry were advancing, he ordered his men to prepare for action and moved towards Huan-êrh-tsui. At that juncture Chih-chung summoned a staff officer named Shih-mo Ming-an. 'You,' said he, 'have often been sent to the North, you are familiar with Chinghiz Khan; go and inquire of him why he is warring against us; ask him what grudge he bears the Chin, and if he gives you a conciliatory answer, upbraid him.' Ming-an went to the Mongol camp, but after speaking as bidden, he surrendered.¹ Nevertheless, unmoved by his submission, Chinghiz Khan had him bound hand and foot and threatened to slay him after the battle."

"The two armies then met and the Chin sustained a terrible reverse, men and horses trampling each other down in the rout and the dead being without number. Chinghiz Khan next advanced on Wan-yen Hu-sha, whom he attacked and crushed at Hui-ho pao, thus destroying the best forces of the Chin."

"The enemy vanquished, Chinghiz Khan had Ming-an brought before him and demanded an explanation of his words. 'I have long wished to come to you,' answered the captive, 'but could think of no way of meeting you. At last there came this opportunity. So I acted as ordered, as otherwise I should never have beheld the light of your countenance.' This answer flattered Chinghiz Khan, and Ming-an was released."²

¹ The *Tung-chien Chi-lan* states that Shih-mo Ming-an also betrayed information concerning the Chin army's strength and disposition.

² The *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of Shih-mo Ming-an, reports that Chinghiz Khan sent the commander back to the Chin. It also says that in the winter of 1213-14 he was despatched by the latter to discuss peace with the conqueror, but instead of carrying out his mission he entered the service of the Mongols.

During the battle of Huan-êrh-Tsui another Chin officer, Kê Pao-yü, was made prisoner, and going over to the Mongols, remained in their service until his death. In 1218 his son, Kê Tê-hai, accompanied Jebe against Küchlüg, and the following year he himself marched west with Chinghiz Khan. (See *Histoire de Genghis Khan et de toute La Dynastie des Mongols ses successeurs conquérant de La Chine*, by Gaubil.)

From the *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih* of T'u Chi, who has drawn principally on the *Yüan Shêng-wu Chin-chêng-lu* and the Biography of Muqali in the *Ssü Ch'ao Pieh Shih*, one learns that when news reached the Chin of the Mongols pillaging Fu Chou, two Khitan staff officers, Pa-ku-shih and Sang-ch'ên, advised Chih-chung to order his mounted troops to try a surprise attack. But Chih-chung thought the plan too hazardous and decided upon a ranged battle in which he could use both cavalry and infantry. The next day, while Chinghiz Khan was at his morning meal, the Chin began to advance. He rose and commanded the armies of the Centre and Left-wing to meet the onset at Huan-êrh-Tsui, and there before the conflict began, a Chin officer, Shih-mo Ming-an, surrendered.

Impressed with the enemy's numbers, Muqali turned to Chinghiz Khan and said: "The soldiers of the Chin are far more numerous than our own and unless we fight to the utmost we shall be beaten." He then charged with the troops of the Left-wing army, who drove into the enemy with their lances. The onslaught was at once supported by the Central army under Chinghiz Khan, and the Chin were so heavily defeated that the bodies of the slain strewed the countryside. The victorious Mongols then pressed on to attack Wan-yen Hu-sha's army, which was overtaken at Hui-ho pao and almost annihilated.

The Biography of Muqali by Su T'ien-chiao says that Muqali charged the first line of the enemy. Simultaneously Chinghiz Khan attacked and before noon the Chin were overthrown and pursued to the Hui Ho. So great was the carnage that the dead were scattered over 100 li (approximately 33 miles) and all the crack soldiers of the Chin slain.

The Biography of Ch'a-han (Chakhan), though brief, provides an interesting piece of information not found elsewhere. When Ting Hsüeh's arrival at the Yeh-hu ling became known, Chinghiz Khan sent out Ch'a-han (Chakhan) to reconnoitre. On his return the officer reported that there was no need to fear the enemy as they seemed disorganized. Chinghiz Khan forthwith gave orders for an advance, and won a complete victory.

As regards Wan-yen Hu-sha, his biography informs us, that when he heard the Mongols were in the Yeh-hu ling he fell into a panic and retired to Hsüan-ping. There the officers of the garrison begged him to stay and make a stand, but he could think only of retreat and in the night took the road for Hsüan-Tê Chou. Before he got

there he was overtaken by the Mongols at Hui-ho pao and so badly beaten that he himself barely escaped to the city.¹

Finally, concerning the flight from Huan-êrh-Tsui to Hui-ho pao, a rather unsatisfactory account in the *Sung Yüan T'ung-chien Ch'uan-pien* states that Chih-chung himself joined Wan-yen Hu-sha. Quoting from it: "Chinghiz Khan attacked Wu-sha pao and Wu-yüeh ying, whereupon Wan-yen Hu-sha and Tu-chi Ch'ien-chia-nu retired to the Hui Ho. There they were joined by Hu-sha-hu (Chih-chung) and resisted the Mongols three days, but when Chinghiz Khan led (sent) 3,000 crack troops to An-ting (presumably a mistake for Ting-an) Hu-sha-hu unexpectedly quitted the field with 7,000 picked men and the Chin were severely beaten and pursued all the way to the Ts'ui-p'ing K'ou"—(the pass referred to here is evidently that south-east of Hsi Ching, not the one in the Yeh-hu ling—see map).

From these excerpts it is evident that the army of Kê-shih lieh Chih-chung reached the Yeh-hu-ling shortly after the fall of Fu Chou, and while work was started on the construction of defence lines, scouts were sent out to observe the Mongols. They returned to say that the invaders appeared much occupied with the loot of the captured town.² As related, Chih-chung failed to take the advice of his Khitan staff officers, nor did he wait for the arrival of Wan-yen Hu-sha. Instead, trusting in the numbers of his army, he decided to attack on his own. The next morning he ordered his entire force into position, and to throw Chinghiz Khan off his guard despatched Shih-mo Ming-an to parley. The Mongols, however, were on the alert, and the approach of the Chin was at once reported to Chinghiz Khan. Chakhan must then have been despatched to make his reconnaissance. From the Tangut's words it would seem that the conqueror may have been debating the advisability of refusing battle until the princes joined him, but reassured by the information he received, he immediately commanded his troops to advance towards Huan-êrh-tsui.

For an accurate description of the engagement it would be of great help did one know the alignment of the Chin army. In the

¹ Wan-yen Hu-sha's retreat, defeat, and flight to Hsüan-tê Chou are also recorded by the *T'ung-chien Chi-lan*.

² Bretschneider, *Archæological and Historical Researches on Pei King and its environs*, says that Fu Chou contained an imperial residence, so the booty seized may have been considerable.

absence of such information one must rely on the few facts provided by the *Yüan Sheng-wu Ch'in-chêng-lu* and the Biography of Muqali and interpret these in the light of what is known concerning the usual Mongol practice in a pitched battle. Probably Chih-chung drew up his cavalry on the wings and front of his army and placed the infantry behind. As soon as the former advanced, successive waves of Mongol light troops must have gone forward to engage them. At length, shaken by the storm of arrows poured into their ranks, the Chin horsemen seem to have faltered and Muqali, seizing the awaited opportunity, delivered a charge. This was immediately supported by the guard (Kächik) under Chinghiz Khan, and the Khitan and Jürchät cavalry were hurled back upon their own infantry.¹ Unable to escape, these were trampled down by the routed horsemen and by noon the Mongols were driving a broken and flying army from the field.

Pursued through the Huan-êrh-Tsui and Ts'ui-p'ing K'ou defile to the plain below, the defeated soldiers suffered tremendous losses, but at Hui-ho pao part of them, under Chih-chung, rallied and, joining Wan-yen Hu-sha, turned to fight a second battle.

Apparently the Mongols made use of their remounts to ride the thirty miles from Huan-êrh-Tsui to Hui-ho pao without resting, and the following day overtook Wan-yen Hu-sha on the road. Hu-sha's men must have been fresher than the pursuers, but he was in a panic and doubtless became still more alarmed when joined by Chih-chung and the remnants of his beaten army. At all events, compelled to give battle, he suffered an annihilating reverse and escaped with difficulty to Hsüan-Tê Chou.

Thither he was followed by the main forces of the Mongols, so leaving the city to be taken and sacked, he continued his flight to Tê-hsing Chou.² Chih-chung, having seen the day lost, fought his way off the field at the head of seven thousand picked troops, and passing Hsüan-Tê Chou, fled to the Sang-Kan Ho. There, opposite the mouth of the Hu-lai Ho, Yeh-lü Tuqa and three thousand

¹ The Guard or army of the centre is sure to have been augmented by some of the contingents supplied by Chinghiz Khan's relatives. In another memorable battle, that fought against Jalal ad-Din on the Indus during September or early October, 1221, the Kächik again struck the decisive blow, for it was a charge by 7,000 guardsmen against the enemy centre that finally swept the Khwarazmian army into the river.

² The continuation of Wan-yen Hu-sha's flight to Tê-hsing Chou is mentioned only in Fêng Ch'êng-chun's biography of Ch'êng-chi-ssü Han (Chinghiz Khan).

horsemen came up with him and he was forced to fight yet a third battle. His biography says that the conflict lasted an entire day, but that with nightfall he and his staff gave up the struggle and made for Yü Chou, while their men broke and fled.¹

Arrived at the town, Chih-chung seized all the horses and municipal funds and making his way through the Tzū-ching Kuan reached Lai-shui hsien. There he quarrelled with the magistrate, and in a fit of rage had him flogged to death. He then took the road to Chung Tu, where despite his defeat and these outrages, no one dared bring him to justice. Chih-chung's seizure of horses at Yü Chou shows that the Mongols were hot on his heels; so he may have been pursued as far as the Tzū-ching Kuan. Another detachment, perhaps under Tuqa, seems to have gone up the Sang-Kan Ho and invested Hung Chou. For some weeks the town resisted, but by December it had been taken.²

¹ There is considerable confusion as regards the part played by Kê-shih-lieh Chih-chung in 1211. The biography of Yeh-lü T'u-hua (Tuqa), like that of Chih-chung, records a battle to the north of Ting-an, i.e. opposite the mouth of the Hu-lai Ho. The *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, without stating precisely whether it was from Huan-êrh-tsui or Hui-ho pao that Tuqa pursued Chih-chung, mentions the same engagement. The *Sung Yüan T'ung-chien Ch'uan pien* alone states that Chih-chung fought at Hui-ho pao.

The direction of his flight is guesswork, but he conceivably went past Hsüan-tê Chou and then south-west to the Sang-Kan Ho (see Yeh-lü Aqai's pursuit as shown on map). This road if rather circuitous is less difficult than the more direct route to the river via Huai-an.

Completely at variance with the *Yüan Shêng-wu Chin-chêng-lu* are the *Chin Shih* and the *T'ung-chien Chi-lan*. According to both Chih-chung was besieged by Chinghiz Khan in Hsi Ching, not beaten in battle at Huan-êrh-Tsui, which the latter dates in the ninth month (9th October to 7th November). More detailed than the *Chin Shih*, the *T'ung-chien Chi-lan* asserts that during the eighth month (12th September to 9th October) the Mongols defeated the Chin at Wu-sha pao. Following up the victory, Chinghiz Khan took Pai-têng Ch'êng and laid siege to Hsi Ching. After seven days Hu-sha-hu began to fear for his safety and broke through the Mongol lines with a body of chosen troops. Chinghiz Khan forthwith despatched 3,000 cavalry in pursuit and the fugitives were overtaken, defeated, and driven down the Ts'ui-p'ing K'ou (here a defile to the south-east of Hsi Ching) while the city fell. The *Chin Shih* makes no reference to the capture of the city, and the Biography of Mo-jan Chin-chung implies that it remained untaken.

Since the *Yüan-shêng-wu Ch'in-chêng-lu* is more reliable for the first years of the Mongol invasion than either the *Chin Shih* or the *T'ung-chien Chi-lan*, it is fairly safe to assume that Chih-chung was at Huan-êrh-tsui and not in Hsi Ching. Perhaps the *T'ung-chien-Chi-lan* has been led into error by Chih-chung's position as commander of Hsi Ching and the existence of two Ts'ui-p'ing K'ou. (See map.)

² The *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih* includes Hung Chou among the places taken by the Central and Left-wing armies, so the town may have fallen to Tuqa or one of his officers.

Simultaneously Chakhan rode up the Yang Ho and besieged T'ien Ch'êng and Pai-Têng Chêng. History is silent as to when the former fell, but the latter surrendered at the end of seven days.¹ As for Hsüan-ping and Hui-ho pao, the first must have been captured by troops detached from the army on its way to the second battle, and the other after this was won.

Meanwhile, the main army under Chinghiz Khan followed Hu-sha to Tê-hsing Chou. Again the general fled and before the end of October the city had fallen.² This time the fugitive continued his flight to the capital, but unlike Chih-chung he was temporarily disgraced.

Master of two of the three strongest cities in the North, Chinghiz Khan directed Jebe and another officer to try to surprise the Chü-yung Kuan. Again Jebe won a spectacular success. Finding the place fully prepared for him and far too strong to take by storm with the troops at his disposal, he fell back in apparent retreat. Deceived, the defenders were lured into the open, and pressing after him for thirty-five miles to the Chi-ming Shan, were suddenly attacked and routed. Flying back in disorder, they spread panic among the men left in the fort, and the Commander Wan-yen Fu Shou abandoned it to the pursuing Mongols. Chinghiz Khan was at once notified of its occupation and late in October or early in November marched down the defile and pitched his camp at Lung-hu T'ai, not twenty-five miles from the Chin capital.³ On the way detachments must have been thrown out to reduce Wei-ch'uan and Chin-shan, and a force sent to Ch'ang-p'ing to secure possession of the pass.⁴

¹ The Biography of Ch'a-han (Chakhan) says that after the Mongol victory at the Yeh-hu ling, he was instructed by Chinghiz Khan to go and besiege Pai-lou (Pai-têng Ch'êng), which surrendered at the end of seven days. However, it is likely that he did not receive his orders until after the battle of Hui-ho pao. On the way he must have taken T'ien Ch'êng, though it is only in the Biography of Liu Po-lin, and apropos of Chinghiz Khan's withdrawal at the beginning of 1212, that one learns that the town was captured.

² Fêng Ch'êng-chun, Biography of Ch'êng-chi-ssu Han (Chinghiz Khan).

³ *Yuan Ch'ao Pi Shih*; *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of Chê-pieh (Jebe). The name of the Chin commander Wan-yen Fu Shou is to be found in the *T'ung-chien Chi-lan*.

⁴ The *Chin Shih* and *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih* date the fall of Wei-ch'uan, Chin-shan, and Ch'ang-p'ing in the eleventh month of the Hsin-wei nien (7th December, 1211, to 6th January, 1212), but all three places must have been invested earlier in order to secure possession of the Chü-yung Kuan. Wei-ch'uan perhaps succumbed to Jebe along with the pass, as it is possible that the garrison joined the defenders of the Chü-yung Kuan in their disastrous pursuit to the Chi-ming Shan.

When news reached Chung Tu that the Chü-yung Kuan was lost, the city was placed under martial law and all men capable of bearing arms prohibited from leaving. Terrified at the disaster, Yüing-chi prepared to depart for K'ai-fêng, and was only persuaded to stay by the Imperial Guards who pledged their loyalty to defend him to the last man.¹

Elated with his success, Jebe led his troops to the city, but outside the walls was encountered and fiercely repulsed by five hundred of the guards. Greatly impressed by their courage, he inquired the total strength of the force. In reality it counted no more than 5,000, but the peasantry told him that it numbered 200,000.²

This exaggeration can hardly have deceived the Mongols, but Chinghiz Khan decided that the time was not ripe for an attack on the capital. Instead troops were sent out to raid and plunder at large, and by January, 1212, Ch'ing Chou and Ts'ang Chou in the south and Mi-yün, Fêng-jun, Luan Chou, P'ing Chou, Fu-ning, and Lin-yü in the East, had been captured or intimidated into surrender.³

Liu Po-lin now came to Chinghiz Khan and suggested that he take advantage of the disorder caused by his victories to launch an attack on Tung Ching (the eastern capital).⁴ From Lin-yü, the most easterly point so far occupied by the Mongols, to Tung Ching (present Liao-yang) it is nearly two hundred miles, but convinced that the project was feasible, Chinghiz Khan ordered Jebe to try it. Nothing indicates more clearly than the success of the expedition the shattered state of the Chin forces in the north. Marching via Ch'ang-p'ing, Mi-yün, Fêng-jun, Luan Chou, and Fu-ning to Lin-yü, Jebe advanced up the coast, and presumably passing Chin Chou without opposition, reached the Liao Ho, which was crossed on the ice.⁵ From the river he drove straight on Tung Ching in the hope of taking it unawares. To his disappointment he found the garrison on the watch. Knowing that only a regular siege would enable him to occupy the place by force, he once more made use of a ruse. Beating a precipitate retreat, he left his baggage as if in flight. Perceiving the deserted camp, the citizens threw open their gates

¹ *T'ung-chien Chi-lan.*

² *Yuan Shih Hsin Pien.*

³ *Chin-Shih.* In a note in the *Meng-wu-erh Shih*, the author T'u Chi says that wherever the Mongols appeared the inhabitants surrendered.

⁴ *Yuan Shih Hsin Pien.*

⁵ Jebe's line of march is that suggested by T'u Chi.

and proceeded to loot it. Having retired six days' distance, Jebe commanded his men each to take a spare mount and, making a forced march of twenty-four hours, unexpectedly returned in the night.¹ Finding the gates left open for the New Year celebrations, his men poured into the city, which was taken and plundered without resistance.² After this remarkable feat of arms Jebe returned to Chinghiz Khan, whom he probably rejoined at Lung-hu T'ai early in February (1212). This brings us to the last of the conquests made by the eastern armies. It is now time to turn to the three princes who had covered Chinghiz Khan's flank on the west.

Despite the absence of definite dates concerning their campaign, one knows that they began operations with the capture of Fêng Chou, Tung-shêng, and Yün-nei. These they must have reached by marching over the Yü-yang Kuan, probably during early August, in an attempt to draw off some of the forces massing against Chinghiz Khan. The *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih* dates the fall of Tung-shêng and Yün-nei with that of Ta-shui-luan in the fourth month (14th May to 13th June), but August seems more likely. The loss of Yün-nei was a grievous blow, for its conqueror, Yeh-lü A-hai (Aqai), not only took the town but, appearing unexpectedly, drove off great numbers of horses from the Imperial grazing grounds.³ However, none of these reverses diverted the Chin from their purpose and the princes, doubtless on orders from Chinghiz Khan, called a halt. This lasted until September or the beginning of October, when the great victories at Huan-êrh-Tsui and Hui-ho pao set them free for an advance into Shan-hsi.

Their line of march is not given, but from the places attacked they apparently avoided the dangerous defiles to the south of the

¹ The statement that Jebe retired six days' distance must mean that he covered the same distance that infantry would march in that time, i.e. about 120 miles. This is not really extraordinary for Mongols as it is quite common for them to ride 100 miles or more at a stretch.

² The *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*; *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of Chê-pieh (Jebe). Differing from these sources are the *Yüan Shih* and the *Yüan Shih Hsin Pien*, which date the capture of Tung Ching in the twelfth month of the Jên-shên nien (25th December, 1212, to 24th January, 1213). However, as Chinghiz Khan was never further east than Tê-hsing Chou during the Jên-shên nien, the *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih* must be correct in assigning Jebe's expedition to the twelfth month of the Hsin-wei nien (6th January to 5th February, 1212).

³ As regards Yeh-lü Aqai's raid on Yün-nei, the *Yüan Shih* infers that it occurred in the tenth month (7th November to 7th December), but the *Ssu Ch'ao Pieh Shih* dates it prior to the advance of the princes into N. Shan-hsi, which seems more likely.

plain of Feng Chou and swung east from Tung-shêng to the Hung-Ta Ho. There a detachment was sent south to invest Ning-pien, while the main force proceeded up the river to the Sha-hu K'ou. In possession of the pass, the princes pushed through it and reduced Shuo-p'ing and Hsüan-ning.¹ From Hsüan-ning they could have made for Hsi Ching, but evidently thinking it too strong, marched south to the upper reaches of the Sang-Kan Ho, where they captured Shuo hsien. Then they crossed the Great Wall to Wu, and sweeping south-east into the valley of the upper Hu-T'ou Ho, took Hsin to the south and ascended the river to Kuo and Tai Chou.² North of the latter lies the Yen-mên Kuan, the pass in the T'ai-ho ling commanding the road that links Hsi Ching and T'ai-yüan. Over this the princes must have gone some time in December,³ and regaining the Sang-Kan Ho turned toward Hsi Ching.

According to the *Yüan Shêng-wu Ch'in-chêng-lu* the foregoing devastation so terrified the Chin that the city was abandoned. Other reports imply that it remained untaken until considerably later.⁴ Possibly the princes pitched camp in the neighbourhood until Chinghiz Khan sent instructions for them to retire, and contented themselves with sending detachments to ravage the surrounding country and the valley of the Sang-Kan Ho.

The Mongol retreat probably began in February, after Jebe's return from Tung Ching. While there is no record, one may assume that Chinghiz Khan went via the Chü-yung Kuan and Yeh-hu ling, and the princes north from Hsi Ching. Since the princes were now in possession of the Sha-hu K'ou, they perhaps marched through the pass and directly over the mountains beyond to Feng Chou, instead of following the more circuitous route of their advance.

How much territory did Chinghiz Khan annex? It is known

¹ The *Yüan Shêng-wu Ch'in-chêng-lu* alone lists Hsüan-ning among the places reduced by the princes, but on the strength of it I have taken it for granted that the Right-wing army advanced into Shan-hsi via the Sha-hu K'ou and Shuo-p'ing. Also, since the country between the plain of Feng Chou and the Sha-hu K'ou is very mountainous, so extremely dangerous to an invader if held by a hostile force, the Mongols probably reached the Sha-hu K'ou by way of the longer but safer road up the Hung-ta Ho.

² Kuo is not included among the towns taken by the princes, but being on their line of march, was doubtless attacked.

³ *Chin Shih*.

⁴ Following Rashid ad-Din, T'u Chi thinks that Hsi Ching remained untaken until the twelfth month of the P'ing-tzū nien (9th January to 8th February, 1217), when it surrendered to Samuqa. The *Yüan Shih* only records one siege, the unsuccessful attempt by Chinghiz Khan in the autumn of 1212.

that the Chin regarrisoned the Chü-yung Kuan, Tê-hsing Chou, and Wei-ch'uan, but not perhaps Hsüan-Tê Chou. According to the *Chin Shih* 20,000 men were assembled for its reoccupation, but one gathers that in the end the force was split up, 3,000 going to Wei-ch'uan and the rest elsewhere—possibly to Tê-hsing Chou. Hence, T'u Chi may be correct in his belief that Hsüan-Tê Chou remained in Mongol hands. Certainly 20,000 soldiers were quite insufficient to garrison it as well as the other three places.

Besides Hsüan-Tê Chou and very likely Hsüan-p'ing, Chinghiz Khan retained the town of T'ien Ch'êng, where he stationed the renegade general, Liu Po-lin. Westward, he withdrew beyond Fêng Chou, for the *Ta Chin Kuo Tzû* implies that the Chin temporarily recovered the place.¹ So Chinghiz Khan would seem to have been content with the country of the Öngüt, the small towns of the grassland, i.e. Ching Chou, Fu Chou, Huan Chou, etc., and the passes and other strategic points giving access to the south.

Although surprise may be felt over the abandonment of so much territory, it should be remembered that at the time the Mongols had neither the experience nor the desire to hold and govern agricultural and urban areas. To them the vast booty seized in the campaign and the acquisition of the Öngüt prairies, from which further raids could be made, were ample recompense for the war. Not until 1214 and 1215, when numbers of officers and their troops began to desert the Chin, and so provide Chinghiz Khan with sufficient men accustomed to garrison and administrative work, did he start the permanent occupation of towns and cities. As primarily intended, the campaign had resulted in breaking the military prestige of the Chin and in raising Chinghiz Khan to the first place among the rulers of Eastern Asia.

After re-entering the Öngüt domain part of the Mongol army may have continued across the desert to the north and returned later with fresh horses, but part will have remained behind with the conqueror. His headquarters are unknown, but Yü-êrh-lo, Huan Chou, or Ta-shui-luan would have enabled him to watch the situation in the south and have been excellent points from which to resume the war.²

¹ It should be mentioned that Wang Kuo-wei does not regard the *Ta Chin Kuo Tzû* as a very trustworthy source of information.

² Chinghiz Khan passed the summers of 1214 and 1215 at Yü-êrh-lo and Huan Chou. (*Yüan Shih*; *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*.)

During his absence the land of the Öngüt had been the scene of a political upheaval. After the Mongol advance into China proper the malcontents of 1204 removed Alaqush Tägin and his family. The old prince they slew along with his eldest son, but Chinghiz Khan's daughter, Alaghi-bäki, and the murdered prince's second son, Po-yao-ho, as well as his nephew Chên-Kuo, got safely away to the Mongol garrison at Yün-nei. Somehow the rebels escaped Mongol vengeance. Perhaps they withdrew westward to the more desert parts of the Öngüt territory or they may have sought refuge in the Ordos, then subject to Hsi Hsia. At all events, when Fêng Chou was recovered they were able to submit to the Chin. Possibly as an appeal to those of the Öngüt under the Mongols, the Chin put to death Alaqush Tägin's slayer and set up Pai-ssü-p'o, a two-year-old son or grandson of the old prince whom the insurgents had spared, but they vested the commander of Fêng Chou with all real power. The arrangement was very distasteful to the Öngüt, and on the commander refusing to marry his daughter to the young prince, they went over to Chinghiz Khan. Thus, without a blow, the conqueror's authority over the tribes south of the desert was re-established.¹ This was not the end of his good fortune.

Earlier it has been suggested that Chinghiz Khan may have hoped the Khitan would rise and join with him against the Chin. Certain writers have gone so far as to say that at his instigation they did, but though an insurrection broke out shortly after the war began he had no hand in it. Undeniably some of the Liao Royal House were on the look out for a chance to regain their independence. Yet nothing occurred which immediately affected the military situation, and at Huan-êrh-Tsui the Chin met the Mongols with an army that included great numbers of Khitan cavalry whose officers tendered the Commander-in-Chief loyal and sound advice.

The Khitan revolt was due, not to Mongol machinations, but to over-suspicion on the part of the Chin. No sooner had hostilities begun than the government sent Jürchät colonists to settle among the Khitan. Alarmed by this, Yeh-lü-liu-kê, a member of the ruling

¹ It was quite common for the Mongols to make marriage alliances of the kind described. During the sixteenth century the later celebrated Dayan Khan was, for political reasons, married while still a child to a woman many years his senior.

For the Öngüt revolt, see the *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of A-la-hu-shih Ti-chi (Alaqush Taghin) and the *Mêng Ta Pei Lu*, section on the Pai T'a-T'a, which contains a reference by Wang Kuo-wei to the subject as written up in the *Ta Chin Kuo Tzû*.

family and commander of one thousand, left his post on the frontier, and flying to the country between Han Chou and Lung Chou, raised the standard of rebellion. Making raids into the surrounding districts, he eluded the garrison of Han Chou, and safe from attack by any large Chin force so long as Chinghiz Khan was in the field soon found himself at the head of a considerable following. Seeing in the Khitan rebel a potential ally, the Mongol Khan decided to open negotiations for an invasion of Liao-Tung. Accordingly in March (1212) he directed Anchar Noyan and Chiqi-qutuqu to approach Liu-ke.

In his choice of these two officers Chinghiz Khan showed his usual judgment. Chiqi-qutuqu, as an adopted son, could be expected to promote his interests to the utmost. Anchar Noyan belonged to the aristocracy of the Kungirat tribe which inhabited the country west of the Khinghan frontier wall, and so had probably met Liu-kê before the war.

The rebel, aware that sooner or later he must face a full-scale punitive expedition, was anxious to obtain the Mongol Khan's protection. He therefore set out that same March for the conqueror's camp and on the way fell in with the two emissaries, who, when they knew that the Khitan prince was before them, presented themselves and asked where he was going. "This," replied Liu-kê, "is the army of Liao on the march to submit to the Mongols, but the road being long and our horses weary we are making a temporary halt." "We," said Anchar Noyan, "have been ordered by Chinghiz Khan to conquer the Nüchen (doubtless those of the Jürchät lately settled in Liao), so it is by the grace of heaven that we meet here. If you really wish to serve the Mongols, what proof can you give of your sincerity?" Thereupon Liu-kê, accompanied by his men and the two Mongol commanders, ascended the Chin Shan (sacred mountain of the Khitan) where, having slain a white horse and a white cow, he turned north and, breaking an arrow, swore allegiance to Chinghiz Khan.¹ "I will return," said Anchar Noyan, "and inform Chinghiz Khan of everything and ask him to make you ruler of Liao."²

¹ The location of the Chin Shan—see Map—would indicate that it is to be identified with the Mu-yeh Shan, the sacred mountain and burying place of the Khitan rulers. (See Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, also Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, vol. i, note 640.)

² The account of Yeh-lü Liu-kê's rebellion and treaty with the Mongols has been taken from his biography in the *Mêng-wu-êrh Shih*, but all dates are from the *Yüan*

Liu-kê's secession did not entail that of the Khitan nation as a whole, but not only did it give the Mongols a foothold on the upper Liao Ho (known as the Huang Ho) and so a base for later military operations in Manchuria, but it could be expected to encourage further defection. For the moment no advance was made into Manchuria, but one was feared, and the Commander of Shang Ching (the Department of the Hurka and Upper Sungari) besought the Emperor on no account to risk losing Tung Ching.¹ But not until April, 1213, was the first of three unsuccessful and belated attempts made to crush Liu-kê.

The Chin campaign was made by Chinghiz Khan during his forty-fifth year, and his vigour and presence of mind never showed to greater advantage.² Disappointed in his original plan of dividing the Chin forces, he remained alert to recover the initiative. When the armies sent against him failed to synchronize their arrival, he quickly seized his chance. First at Wu-sha-pao, then at Huan-êrh-Tsui and Hui-ho pao, he inflicted three defeats, so crushing that the flower of the Chin army was destroyed and the Imperial plan of campaign completely upset. Rashid ad-Din, writing over one hundred years afterwards, says that the Mongols still regarded the battle of Huan-êrh-Tsui as one of their greatest victories.³ Nine years later (1220) the celebrated Taoist sage, Ch'ang-ch'un, was so impressed with the sight of the terrible field of carnage that on his return to China in 1223 he held a service at Tê-hsing Chou in memory of the thousands who had perished.⁴

Correctly estimating the demoralizing effect of such reverses, Chinghiz Khan pressed forward from Hui-ho pao, and while the enemy was reeling from his blows quickly took Hsüan-Tê Chou and Tê-hsing Chou. Simultaneously Chakhan made for Pai-têng Ch'êng,

Tai Chin Liao Tung Pei K'ao of Chenuchi, a Japanese authority on Mongol history who has specialized on the chronology of Liu-Kê's revolt and the conquest of Manchuria.

¹ *Yüan Shih Hsin Pien*.

² M. Pelliot, in a communication to the Asiatic Society on 9th December, 1938, reports that recently investigated Chinese sources of the year 1340 date the birth of Chinghiz Khan in 1167. The previously accepted date in the *Yüan Shih* was the year 1162, that given by the Persian histories, 1155. (Rene Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, addendum.)

³ See D'Ohsson, footnote on Huan-êrh-Tsui.

⁴ Ch'ang-ch'un, having been invited by Chinghiz Khan to pay him a visit, left China in the spring of 1220 and finally came up with the conqueror during the summer of 1221. (See Arthur Waley's *Ch'ang-ch'un*.)

while Yeh-lü Tuqa sped in pursuit of Kê-shih-lieh Chih-chung. Tuqa's march was an astonishing feat, since it was carried out across sixty miles of mountainous country immediately after two major battles. Every avenue leading to Hsi Ching from the east was thus seized by Chinghiz Khan, and before long the advance of the princes cut the roads to the west and south. But, though isolated, strong walls and its valiant commander, Mo-jan Chin-chung, saved the city from capture.⁶

In October we have seen that Jebe gained possession of the Chü-yung Kuan, and Chinghiz Khan was able to threaten Chung Tu. The Chin might have summoned forces from Shan-hsi, but the advance of the princes prevented it. Just as in 1220, during the conquest of the Khwarazmian Empire, the principal function of Jebe and Sübötai was to obstruct and disorganize the sending of troops from Western Persia, so must the southward drive of the princes in the autumn and winter of 1211 have been made to stop the dispatch of soldiers from Shan-hsi.¹ The main Mongol army was therefore in little danger of attack from the west.

The chief cause of Chin defeat was the mishandling of their troops. Most of the generals were men whose experience had been gained fighting the Sung in 1206 and 1207, when both Kê-shih-lieh Chih-chung and Wan-yen Hu-sha made their reputations. Though there are no figures extant on the number of Khitan and Jürchät horsemen present at the Yeh-hu ling, they were probably not much inferior to the entire army of Chinghiz Khan on the field. However, instead of relying upon their mobility and archery to counter that of the enemy, Chih-chung stationed them too close to his infantry, and the battle ended in irreparable disaster. It was probably this faulty arrangement that gave rise to Chakhan's remark that the Chin seemed disorganized.

The casualties of the Chin on that day and the next were terrific. Wang Kuo-wei declares that they lost nearly all their trained soldiers, so were subsequently unable to oppose the invaders in the open.² This is an exaggeration, since in 1212 and 1213 two large armies took the field, but the Empire's cavalry was without doubt

¹ *Chin Shih*, Biography of Mo-jan Chin-chung.

² C. C. Walker's "The Greatest Cavalry Raid in History," *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, July, 1932, deals at some length with Jebe and Sübötai's operations in Western Persia.

³ *Mêng Ta Pei Lu*, Pai T'a-T'a, commentary by Wang Kuo-wei.

badly decimated and this put the Chin at a serious disadvantage when opposing the Mongols.

Given no respite, the Chin were unable to replace the forces lost in 1211 by others of equal strength. Fighting desperately, they were obliged to abandon more and more territory, until finally they resigned themselves to retiring over the Huang Ho. Behind this barrier they concentrated all their remaining troops, and given a breathing space by the death of Chinghiz Khan in 1227, devoted every effort to preparing for the inevitable renewal of the war. In 1230 the storm broke, and only after four years of resistance, during which Jürchät and Chinese alike covered themselves with glory, were the Chin overcome.

In every phase of the war the Chin empire is found fighting with a tenacity and courage encountered by the Mongols in no other part of the world. Though past its best days as a military power, it proved an incomparably more formidable antagonist than the empire of Khwarazm. But since the invasion of the Moslem state took place in lands closer to us and was fraught with results affecting Europe, it is much better known than the longer and harder contest with the Chin. If asked to name Chinghiz Khan's most outstanding military achievement most historians would point to his conquest of Transoxiana in 1220. Besides trying to throw light on a too little known page of Mongol history, I have tried to show that, as regards the military forces of the enemy encountered, Chinghiz Khan's greatest feat of arms was his first campaign against the Chin.

“The Mysterious Paisācī”

By ALFRED MASTER

(Concluded from p. 45.)

SPECIMENS OF PAISĀCĪ

The only Pai. quotation connected directly with the Brh. is given by Mārkaṇḍeya (seventeenth century): Brhatkathāyām kupaci pisāḷam (Grierson, *EPG.*, 134). Keith, *HSL.*, p. 269, observes, “We really cannot be sure that we have a single relic of the Brhatkathā, still less that so late a grammarian as Mārkaṇḍeya actually had the text before him.” Pisāḷam, moreover, is a neo-Indian form, which normally would not occur before the twelfth century, for the words in AMg pisalla (PG 595) and in Pkt. pisalla (Hem., i, 193) are normal Mid-Indian as contrasted with Mar. pisāḷem “madness”.

Namisādhu connects Pai. with the Brh., when he says in his commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvyaḷamkāra, ii, 12, regarding Paisācika, ityādayo'nye'pi prākṛta-vihitā vyanjanādeśā na kriyante te ca Brhatkathādi-lakṣya-darśan-ājñeyā iti, “Other substitutions of consonants prescribed for Prakrit do not occur, as may be ascertained by consulting the Brhatkathā and other works.”

Rudraṭa supplies two examples of Pisāca-bhāṣā (Kavya. iv, 13, 19, see Grierson, *EPG.*, p. 138). They are of great importance, as they constitute the earliest examples of Pai. Rudraṭa does not actually describe the verses as in Pisāca-bhāṣā, but—

(i) They occur between the Māgadha and Sūrasenī couplets in the order given in ii, 12.

(ii) The Pkt., Mg., Śau., and Apa. couplets are recognizable and Pai. only is left.

(iii) The commentator Namisādhu identifies them as in Pisāca-bhāṣā and Paisācika respectively.

The first verse (Ārya metre) can be read one way as Skt and in another way as Pai. It shows clearly where Pai differs from Skt.
Skt.

kam aneka-tam'ādānam, sura-tana-raja-tuc, chalaṃ tad-āśinaṃ
Appati-mānaṃ kha-mate so'ga nikānaṃ naraṃ jetum.

The commentator gives several renderings. Nikānaṃ is not

found in the lexica. I present a tentative translation. " Whom, the admitter of many errors (wilt thou conquer), O god-born child of passion ? Do thou thyself with empty mind (? of evil) go to conquer that illustrious man thus seated in error with the pride of (Varuṇa), the Lord of the waters." The sense is strained, as the verse is based on the Pai. version. The Pai. version reads as follows.

kamane kata-mādānaṃ suratana-rajat'ucchalaṃta dāsinam
appatimānaṃ khamate so ganikānaṃ na ranjetum.

" He cannot bear to indulge himself with the unconventionality (lack of decorum) of the courtesans—with their maid-servants glittering with fair gems and silver—who take their pleasure in love."

The next couplet has the same meaning in both languages.

campaka-kalikā-komala-kānti-kapolā'tha dīpikā'nangī icchati
gajapati-gamanā capal'āyata-locanā lapitum.

" With cheeks of the tender beauty of the campaka bud and burning though with body consumed ¹ (like Ananga), with the gait of the Lord of elephants and with long quickly moving eyes, she yearns to speak."

An inspection of these verses reveals that Rudraṭa's Piśāca-bhāṣā is Pāli or a near dialect. The only difference between it and, say, the Pāli of the Jātakas is the word ganikā, written thus and not gaṇikā. Ganikā is, I think, a doublet of *kanikā " a young girl ", contaminated with gaṇ, just as kanerā " courtesan " is a doublet of gaṇeru " courtesan ". Thus the n-form is the older. The close connection of Pai. with Pāli is mentioned by Keith, *HSL.*, p. 29, but there has been no question hitherto of identification.

Rājaśekhara, a late contemporary of Rudraṭa, gives no example of Pai., but says that the Creator taught speech known as Pāra-meśvara (? Śiva's speech) or Divya and adds : Piśācādyah Śivānu-carāḥ svabhūmau Saṃskṛta-vādino, martye tu Bhūtabhāṣāyā vyavaharanto nibandhaniyāḥ. Apsaras tu Prākṛta-bhāṣāyā ² (*GOS.*, i, ed. 3, p. 29). Elsewhere Rāj. assigns Paisāca to the least honourable members of the Poem-man and to the least honourable quarter and later poets have drawn inferences therefrom. But the statement that Piśācas and other adherents of Śiva are speakers of Sanskrit in their own country, yet in the (outside) world conduct

¹ Or " with love her torch ".

² For the translation see text a few lines below.

their business and literature in Bhūtabhāṣā, indicates that the Piśācas are not Mlecchas. They can hardly be Dravidians, for Rāj. (id., p. 33) refers specifically to Draviḍas who recite musically, and to the Karmāṭas who recite with a jingle at the verse-end (p. 51). But, as Rāj. continues his account of the Piśācas with the statement that the Apsaras use Pkt., he is still in the realm of legend.

Daśarūpa's words—Piśācātyantanicādaḥ Paisācam Māgadham tathā, are translated by Konow (ZDMG., 1910, p. 103) following Pischel PG 27, as “ Pai. and Mg. are used in the case of Piśācas and very low-caste people ”, but I suggest “ Pai. and Mg. are used among Piśācas and very humble persons and others *respectively* ”, Pai. referring only to the Piśācas. This interpretation is borne out by Bhojadeva, Saras. ii, 9—Paiśācādyam Piśācādyā, Māgadham hinajātayaḥ.

Bhojadeva was king of Dhārā in the shadow of the Vindhyas, then capital of Mālwa. He has used in his Sarasvatī-Kaṇthābharana not only Daśarūpa, but Rudraṭa and Rājaśekhara. He speaks of Mleccha-bhāṣā and seems to distinguish it from Paisāca (ii, 7-11). He adopts the Ṣaḍbhāṣā of Rudraṭa, putting Māgadha in the place of Apabhraṃśa, probably because he regards the former as the lowest type. He further introduces a sixfold classification of the languages of a composition, two of which, śuddhā and sādharmaṇī alone concern us (ii, 17). The śuddhā (language used in its pure grammatical form) is illustrated by examples of the six languages arranged now in the order given by Rudraṭa.

(i) Sanskrit for the highest *dramatis personæ*—tāsūttama-pātra-prayojya Saṃskṛtajātiḥ śuddhā.

(ii) Prakrit for the middle *dram. pers.* -madhyamapātra-.

(iii) Māgadhi for the low class *dram. pers.* -hina pātra-.

(iv) Paisācī for not quite the highest *dram. pers.* -nātyuttama-.

(v) Śauraseni for not quite the middle *dram. pers.* -nāti-madhyama-.

(vi) Apabhraṃśa for not quite the low class *dram. pers.* -nātihina-.

Paisācī is, therefore, midway as regards dignity between Sanskrit and Prakrit.

The Pai. example (Saras. i, op. cit., ii, 17, 4) runs thus panamata panāa - pakuppita - Golī - calan'agga - lagga - paḍibimbam dasasu naha-dappanesu eādasa-tanu-dhalaṃ Luddaṃ.

“ Worship ye Rudra, who has eleven bodies, in a mirror of ten nails, for his reflection is cast on the toes of Gauri inflamed with love.”

Here is a greater divergence from Pāli ; for l replaces r in Goli, calana,¹ dhalam, and Luddam, while Pāli has Ludda only ; there is naha for nakha and eādaśa for ekādaśa. These latter may be copyists' errors, but we are not entitled to correct the text on that assumption. The use of n for Skt. ṇ, when the Skt. r has disappeared, is peculiarly Pāli, but panamata has a Skt. flexion. Hemacandra has this couplet with another as an example of Cūlika Paisācika (iv, 326, “ l can be used for r ”), but has t and th for d and dh, following neither his rule for CP, iv, 325, nor his rule for Pai. 307. He has nakha and ekādaśa, which are preferable to Bhojadeva's spellings, even if not entirely correct. Tanu-dhalam = tanu-dharam is better than Pischel's reading tanu-thalam, against all the MSS. of Hem., which read -thalam.

For his next example (Saras. ii) Bhoj. draws on Rudraṭa to illustrate a Skt.-Pai. sādharanī, that is, a type which can be read in two languages with one meaning. It is the verse previously quoted beginning :-campaka-kalikā. Bhoj. reads kalāpātha dīpitānangī, which is inferior in meaning, but does not affect the phonology.² There are no cases of r or ṇ, which have presumably been intentionally avoided. Bhoj. terms the language of this verse nātyuttama-bhūmikāsthōttama-pātra-prayojyā Saṃskṛta-Paisācī “ used for the highest *dramatis personæ* cast in *not quite the highest rôles* ”, while a sādharanī of Skt. and Pkt. is used for the highest *dramatis personæ* cast in *middle character rôles* (ii, 17, 7 and 8). Pai. is here clearly superior in status to Pkt.

Bhoj. has a third example (Saras. iii) (ii, 69, 164 and 165) to illustrate a bhāṣā-śleṣa or double entente. It runs as follows : 164. ruciram jītāri-hetiṃ jana-namitam sāma-kāyam-akalankam santam-amitam ca mānaya kamalāsanam-abhivirājantam. 165. Bhūta-Saṃskṛta-bhāṣābhyām dvir namaskṛtya Mādhavam, jagama samaram ko'pi ; kasya śreyasi trptayah ?

164. “ Give honour to the radiant god who casts his glory round the lotus-throne, with weapons victorious over his foes, worshipped

¹ calana “ foot ” = carana is found in Pkt. (Pisch. PG 257).

² It is interesting to find that the commentator Ratneśvara had consulted the commentary of Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, for he notes on the passage the fragment anangasyeyamānangī taken from Nami's tathānangasyeyamānangī dīpikā/tayā kāmasya prakāśitatvāt.

by the world, black of body yet spotless, tranquil and infinite.”
165. “ Having worshipped Mādhava twice in the Bhūta and Sanskrit
tongues, some one has gone to battle. Whose delights lie in virtue ? ”

If read as Skt. the first couplet is differently interpreted. The
words are divided :-ruci-ranjitā arihetim janana mitam, etc., but
a translation is unnecessary, as we are only concerned with Bhūta-
bhāṣā. The language as here reproduced does not substitute l for r
and the question of the change of ṛ to n is avoided. But, as in
Saras. i, where the Skt. flexion is used in panamata, so here the
Skt. flexion is used in mānaya (Hem. has panamatha, the Pāli
form). Bhoj. gives the meaning of the first couplet, so there is
no doubt as to his reading of it.

As it is impossible to find a place on a chronological basis for
the ps.-Var. and Caṇḍa, and a place must be found for them,
I make mention of them here. The ps.-Var. probably precedes
Caṇḍa, because he certainly precedes Hem., and Caṇḍa, as represented
by the revisers, at any rate, may not. As Nitti-Dolci says, “ Quant
au ‘sens’, je serais disposée à croire que ‘les revisionnistes’ ont
pillé Hemacandra ” (GP., p. 206).

The ps.-Var., Caṇḍa and Hemacandra are the earliest grammarians,
who have laid down rules for Pai. in sūtra form.

The ps.-Var. has only three sūtras, which are not represented
in Hem.’s. Of them one, No. 4, is otiose, and another, No. 11, is
implied by Hem. The third only, No. 3, entails a difference of
principle. It reads :-vargānām ṛtīya-caturthayor-ayujor-anādyor
ādyau, that is, “ For the third and fourth letters of each varga,
when they are not conjunct or initial (substitute) the first two.”
Thus gakanam for gaganam. Hem., however, breaks this up into
two sutras, iv, 325, ṛtīya-turyayor ādyadvitīyau, “ for the third
and fourth letters (of each varga substitute) the first and second ”,
and 327, n’ādi-yujyor anyeṣām, “ some say, if they are not initial
or conjunct.” Hem., however, misunderstands (his notes or) his
authority, who actually divided and recast the sūtra, and interprets
n’ādi-yujyor as “ not initial or the root yuj ”.¹ In such cases it is
usual to presume a common source and I have adhered to the
practice, but a grammarian, who founds his work on that of a
predecessor, need not adopt his sūtras word for word. He may even
modify the sūtras, if he finds material, which leads him to think

¹ I regret that I do not know the name of the author of this brilliant little piece
of research and apologize to him or her for my ignorance.

that his predecessor is in error. I do not exclude, therefore, the possibility that Hem. may have actually utilized the ps.-Var. If so he showed discretion in omitting ps.-Var. x, 4, in making 6, 7, and 8 into one sūtra, and in making other rearrangements.

The ps.-Var.'s sūtras are consistent, but the commentary must be by another hand or hands. In Su. 1 it is quite unnecessary to state that Pai. is to be explained by lakṣya-lakṣaṇa “ perceptible characteristics ”. In Su. 3 niecharo for nirjhara violates Su. 3 and 5. Su. 3 does not cover Gopinto and Kesapo except from Gobinda and Keśaba (the confusion of b and v dates, according to Bühler's Tables, from the ninth century). The commentator, however, unlike Hem., explains the sūtra correctly, translating ayujor as ayuktor.¹ He has three Pai. phrases. Kamalaṃ piva mukhaṃ (Su. 4)² contains a Pkt. word found in Su. viii, 18, piva miva viva va ivārthe of Vasantarāja's edition of Var. Kasaṭaṃ mama vaṭṭai (Su. 6) has also one Pkt. word vaṭṭai, which infringes Su. 2 prakṛtiḥ Śaurasenī or the implication of Su. 3, that intervocalic d in Śau. is not dropped, but becomes t. Hitaakaṃ harasi me, taluni, “ Thou stealest my heart, O maid ” (Su. 14) introduces a special word, which Pischel reads hitapakāṃ, and taluni = taruṇī, which has not suggested to the ps.-Var. a sūtra “ l for r ”. The copyist may be at fault in these examples, but in such cases emendations are dangerous. Pischel's other emendation (PG 276) ññ for ñj in Su. 9 and 12 is, however, very tempting.

Of single words Gopinto may represent an earlier Gopinda from Gopendra (cf. Monier-Williams, Skt.-Eng. Lexicon and Pāli narinda < narendra). Kesapo may represent an earlier *keśapa, for keśava implies a form kiśu, not keśa. It is improbable that there was any confusion between b and v, for v is retained in dasavatano and Māthavo, while b occurs in baṭisaṃ.

These sūtras are, like the extracts from Rudraṭa and Bhojadeva, of a Pāli or early MI character and add some more characteristics to those presented by them. Fuller details will be given in the comparison of the sūtras with Namisādhu's commentary. Su. 3, which requires the unvoicing of the intervocalic voiced stops, has

¹ Using ayukta like Var. and Hem., not ayuja (ps.-Var.) or asamyogyasya (Caṇḍa).

² Cf. Caṇḍa, ii, 22, upamāne piva iva (? viya) viva vva va jahā vataḥ —kamalaṃ viva tujja (B tumba) muhaṃ — and Hem., ii, 182, miva piva viva vva va via ivārthe vā —kamalaṃ via—.

its peculiar difficulties, the discussion of which must be deferred. But it may be here pointed out that the suggestion, e.g. by Keith, *HSL.*, p. 29, that the “hardening of soft consonants (in Pai.) is probably due to Dravidian influence” is unacceptable, whether he refers to this sūtra of the ps.-Var. or to one of the two versions of Hem. For in no Dravidian language is there a general unvoicing of voiced stops, although it is adopted in particular cases as a morphological device, e.g. āḍu “to play”, āṭa “a game”. The rule is just the opposite. Breathed consonants are voiced when intervocalic and the laws of Tamil, Telugu, and Kanarese Sandhi are based upon this rule. Individual illustrations may be loan-words from Drav. like rācā, x, 3, cf. Tel. rāca (“king, royal”), and Kan. Rāca (Telugu Rajput), and Rāca in Rācamalla (Rājamalla, the Western Ganga king, c. A.D. 980) from the Tel. This word is one of a regular “substitution” series, Tam. aracu, Kan. arasu, Tel. rāju, which may be Drav. convergents or, as is usually supposed, preliterate loan-words from Skt.¹ Drav. influence cannot be proved from loan-words.

Caṇḍa has only Su. iii, 38, ra ṇayor la nau “l, n for r, ṇ”, which is illustrated by -ale, ale, duṭṭha-Lakkhasā panamata panayitṭhitāsā, “Ho, ho, ye evil Rākṣasas, worship with the mouths of devotees.” Here the substitution l for r is a novelty. Panamata has the Skt., not the Pāli flexion, as in Saras. i.

I have not yet mentioned Kramadīśvara’s Sankṣiptasāra. His date is uncertain, but he is provisionally placed between Hem. (twelfth century) and Vopadeva (thirteenth century). He may precede Hem., but in any case he contributes nothing but varḡadyau tricaturthayoḥ (iv, 101) = Hem., iv, 325 (not ps.-Var., x, 3, as Nitti-Dolci, *GP.*, 145, from whom I quote) and hrdayasya hitaakam = ps.-Var., x, 14. If he preceded Hem., there is no need to search further for the source of Hem., iv, 325.

The next authority whose date is known is Namisādhu (A.D. 1068). L. Nitti-Dolci (*GP.*, pp. 165–9) has noted striking coincidences between Namisādhu and Hemacandra and believes that they both drew their material from a common source. It is possible that Hem. drew directly on Nam. Nitti-Dolci describes Nam. correctly as a commentator and not a grammarian, but his comments can be put into the form of rules. He is the first to call Pai. (with Mg,

¹ Cf. also Mid. Kan. Nāki = Nāga (above); Aśoka, NW, Kamboca = Kamboja; Old Sinh. Naka = Nāga (Geiger, *Gram. Sinh.*, 1938, § 41), and other proper nouns.

Śau, and Apa) a prakrit, i.e. just Pkt. with certain peculiarities :-prākṛtam eva kimcidviśeṣāt paiśācīkam (*GP.*, p. 160). It is possible to identify nearly all Nam.'s Pai. words with Pāli, as a comparison of the examples given by him with the corresponding words in the *Pāli-Eng. Lexicon* of Rhys Davids and Stede will show.

Pai.	Pāli.	Pai.	Pāli.
1 agamṇū	not identified	5 sūcī	suci
naya	naya	gajo	gaja
namati	namati	bhavati	bhavati
2 vatanam	(vadana)	nadī	nadi
3 pātali-	pātali	6 mukham	mukha
putram	(nil)	megho	megha
4 padipo	padipa	ratho	ratha
anekapo	(nil)	vidyādhara	(nil)
5 akāśam (sic)	ākāsa	viphalam	vipphala
migamko	miga-	sabhā	sabhā
vacanam	vacana	7 pathamam ¹	(nil)
rajatam	rajata	puthuvī	puthuvī
vitānam	vitāna	maṭho	(nil)
madano	madana	kamaṭho	(nil)
supuriso	purisa	8 yañakosalam	yañña kosalla
dayālū	(nil)	rāññā lapitam	rañño (nil)
lāvāṇnam	(nil)	9 hitapakam	(nil)
suko	suka	10 eti bimbam	eti bimba
subhago	subhaga		

Out of these forty words twenty-three are identical ; six (anekapo, dayālū, pathamam, maṭho, kamaṭho, lapitam) are possible Pāli words ; one (ākāśam) has a spelling error, ś for s ; three (viphalam, yañña, kosalam) have orthographic differences only, if kosalam is not < kausala ; one is unidentified ; and five only (lāvāṇnam, vatanam, putram, vidyādhara, rāññā) are not Pāli types. In only two of these five are the irregular akṣaras illustrative of a rule. Finally hitapakam which is derived from hr̥daya, probably by association with hadaya or *hidaya, is in a Pāli form and can mean "preserver of welfare".

Of the ten Rules (see below) Nos. 2 and 8² are generally applicable to Pāli. No. 2, dasya vā takāraḥ is, however, clearly exceptional, as Rule 10 declares "sarvatra takāro na vikriyate" (t never changes). C. Duroiselle, *Pali Grammar*, § 47, instances sugato < sugado, but I cannot find his authority. Rule 8 is not consistent in itself and may be founded upon misreadings.

From what source did Nam. get his information ? Nitti-Dolci presumes a grammar of the period. But Nam. implies that he compiled his information from the Br̥h. and similar works, for he

¹ The Hāthigumphā inscription has padhamam, Pāli pathama.

² But the single ñ is found in inscriptions.

says that other differences of Pai. from Pkt. must be sought from these works (*GP.*, pp. 160, 163). Whether he did so or not, he appears to have written his comment with an eye on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Thus :—

<i>Nam.</i>	<i>Nāṭya (GP., p. 71, translated).</i>
1 na for ṇa and na.	13 in every position na becomes ṇa.
2 ta may replace da.	12 non-initial ta becomes da.
3 ṭ remains.	11 ṭa becomes ḍa.
4 p not v.	14 in āpāna p becomes v.
5 ka, ga, ca, ja, ta, da, pa, ya, va remain.	7 ka, ga, ta, da, ya, va are dropped.
	16 ca can become ya.
6 kha, gha, etc., not ha.	7) kha, gha, tha, dha, bha become
7 tha, ṭha, not dha.	9) ha.
	14 sometimes tha becomes dha.
8 ñ for jñ }	13 (r)dha becomes dha.
9 hitapakam }	nil.
10 ta remains.	12 non-initial ta becomes da.

If *Nam.* had before him a text of *Pai.* and picked out divergencies from *Pkt.*, the result would naturally have been as it appears in his commentary. In Rule 1 his examples show that he is not laying down a general rule, but merely denying *Nāṭ. Su. 13*. Rule 2 mentions an exceptional alternative, suggested by *Su. 12*. *Vatanaṃ* and *vadanaṃ* are alternatives, as both words are given and the phrase *prākṛta-lakṣaṇāpavādaś cātra* "and here is an exception to Prakrit idiom" (not, as *Nitti-Dolci* understands, *GP.*, p. 163, "there are limitations to the rules of Prakrit") indicates that such alternatives are rare in *Prakrit* or in the particular dialect of *Prakrit*, *Paisācī*. It is unnecessary to pursue the analysis further.

It is impossible to identify the text which *Nam.* used, but its language must have resembled that of the Buddhist *Jātakas*. Out of the twenty-seven words traced in *Rhys Davids' and Stede's Pāli Dictionary* all are found in the *Jātakas*, and one, *vipphala*, only in one *Jātaka*.

The *ps.-Var.* has approached his task differently. He has merely put into *sūtra* form some idioms peculiar to *Pai.* His *sūtras* may be classified as follows. Nos. 1 and 2, introductory ; No. 3, peculiar in detail, but having affinity with other accounts ; Nos. 4, 7, 8, and 13, identical with *Pkt.* (for *saneho*, cf. *saneho*, *Var.*, iii, 64, and for *ghettūnaṃ*, cf. *ghettūna*, viii, 16, read with x, 5, n for ṇ), 5, 9, 10, 12, and 14 (with some deviations), common with other accounts, and Nos. 6 and 11, having for examples each a *Drav.* word.

The effective *Sūtras* are, therefore, Nos. 3 and 5, etc., and Nos. 6

and 11. No. 3 gives the impression that the ps.-Var. with Nam.'s commentary in mind, framed a general rule and constructed examples for it. No. 5 resembles Nam.'s Rule 1. No. 9, if, as Pischel suggests, *PG.*, § 276, *ññ* be read, resembles Nam.'s Rule 8 with a similar reading. Nos. 10 and 12 are original contributions, *-kaññā, rācinā, raññā*; *rācinā* (read *rācino*), *rañño*; *rācini*, *rañni*; *rācā, rācānaṃ, rañño* (read *raññā*), with which we may compare Pāli *kaññā*; *rājinā, raññā*; *rājino, rañño*, etc. The forms are Inst., Gen.-Dat., Loc., Nom., Acc., and Abl. Sing. respectively, modified in accordance with Su. 3, which has *rācā* as an example. The new readings *rācino* and *raññā* avoid the pointless repetition of *rācinā* and *rañño* and account for all the cases of the Sing., except the Voc., which is often omitted. Su. 6 gives *kasaṭaṃ*, a Pāli word, "bad, bitter (taste), fault" (Pāli MSS. often have *sakaṭa*). Cf. Hem., iv, 314, *kasaṭaṃ* (MS. B *sakaṭaṃ*), Tel. *kasaṭu* "bad taste, sin", Tam. *kacaṭu* (Nālaṭi) "bitterness" (Kuraḷ) "fault". *Kaccam* (Su. 11) is found also in Tam.¹ With *hitaakaṃ* (Su. 14), cf. Tam. *itayam*, Tel. *hṛttu* (Kan. *hedeya, erde*).²

The Pai., therefore, of both Nam. and the ps.-Var. are close to Pāli. Hem. makes a new departure by distinguishing *Paisācī* from *Cūlikā-Paisācika*. There have been many explanations of *Cūlikā* but I offer a fresh translation "mountain". The Kanarese poet Argaladeva, writing in 1189, sixteen years after Hem.'s death, uses *cūlike*, the Kan. form of *cūlikā*, in the sense of "mountain-top" (Kittel, *Kan.-Eng. Dict.*). "Hill-gibberish," as we might say, is a fully intelligible expression, and has its equivalent in the Neo-Indian "janglī bāt".

Hem. distinguishes two kinds of *Cūlikā-Paisācī*, which Grierson has termed CP 1 and CP 2. The differences are few. Pai. has *t* in all positions corresponding to Śau. *d*, but aspirates and all other stops (first to fourth consonants of the *vargas*) are the same as in Śau. It has not *l* for *r*. CP 1 unvoices not only Śau. *d*, but all stops and replaces *r* by *l*. CP 2 unvoices medial stops only (there being no final stops), when single³ and replaces *r* by *l*. Let us, for the time being, postpone consideration of these particular phonetic

¹ Aśoka's Gīrnār inscription has the equivalent *kacam* < *kṛtya*.

² These are lws direct from Skt. The dental is found breathed in Tel. only. In Tam. it is voiced and a fricative, but can have been regarded as a breathed stop, just as Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (seventh century) reproduces Tam. *atar* "road", as *atar* and not *adar, adhar* or *athar*, which he might have used.

³ Hem.'s error of reading *nādiuyjyor* as *nādi* and the root *yuj* is rejected here.

changes and examine the features, which all kinds have in common.

The sūtras, which describe Pāli, and for the most part give as illustrations words found in Pāli are 303, 305, 309, 314, 318, 319, 320. Su. 317¹ and 321 describe Pāli modified by Su. 307. Su. 304, 322 contain each one Pāli and one non-Pāli form. Su. 304 (rāciño) and 310 (see above). Hem. has, however, turned ps.-Var.'s rāciño into rāciño. Su. 324 covers such wide ground as to make it unprofitable to attempt a check, and, being negative, does not indicate actual forms.

The remaining sūtras 306, 307, 308, 311, 313, 322 (nāe) and 323 are partly general and partly optional. No. 306, ṇo ṇaḥ, is the antithesis to i, 228, no ṇaḥ, i, 229, vādaḥ " n becomes ṇ, but when initial may remain n ". The Pāli rule is that Skt. ṇ sometimes becomes n (e.g. savana, rūpena), and n remains n (Early MI has exceptions as in leṇa, Skt. layana, *Bom. Gaz.*, xvi, p. 555, Cave inserr., *passim*). The examples given in the commentary, gunaganajutto, gunena, also do not accord with the Pāli practice.²

Su. 307 may be again postponed. Su. 308, lo laḥ, is illustrated in Pāli only by a few words, such as kāla " black " and pāli or pālī, although ḷ for ḍ (intervocalic) is usual. Four of the examples occur in Guj., Mar., and Kan., the fifth salil, a rare word, only in the Skt. form. For 311 there is only one example, kuṭumbakam, kuṭumbakam. In Pāli the first signifies a flower, the second a man of importance, the usual word being kuṭumbika. Su. 313 appears to be an appendix of 311, tatthūna, tatthūna standing for daṭṭhūna (drṣ) and not from sthā (Pisch., note to Su.). Nāe (Su. 322) is Pkt., but little more than a spelling variation of Pāli nāya.³ Su. 323 declares that otherwise Pai. follows Śau.

Now Nitti-Dolci, *GP.*, p. 148, does not credit Hem. with any particular brilliance and even feels that he is wanting in originality. This is a harsh view, even though Hem.'s examples are often composed *ad hoc*, for his account of Apa. is satisfactorily illustrated from original sources. Nitti-Dolci (*GP.*, p. 149) quotes from the Praśasti of the Siddhahemacandra that his grammar was intended

¹ tumhātiso, the reading of one MS., is to be preferred to umhātiso or yumhātiso. Pāli has tumhādiso, etc.

² But the Hathigumpha inscription c. second century B.C. has ganana = gānaṇa and pāpunati = Pāli pāpunāti (Woolner, *Intro. to Pkt.*, p. 192).

³ Taye and tāye are Aśokan forms (All. Qu.).

to supersede previous grammars, which were obscure and ill-arranged and refers to the thirteenth century Prabhāvaka-caritra, which relates that Hem. founded his grammar on eight grammars from Kashmir.¹ Unless Hem. was relying upon a predecessor, it is difficult to account for his fixing on Śau. as most nearly resembling Pai. His scheme is that Samskr̥ta is prakṛti the original form; Prākṛta the derived form (i, 1); Śaurasenī a dialect of Prākṛta (iv, 286); Māgadhī, Paisācī, and Apabhraṃśa, dialects of Śaurasenī (iv, 302, 323, and 446). Pai. denies so many of the rules which, according to Hem., distinguish Śau. from Pkt., that affiliation with Pkt. or Skt. would be preferable.

The ps.-Var. holds that Pai. and Mg. have Śau. as their prakṛti, and Hem. must have followed him or his school. The ps.-Var. has chosen Śau. in x, 2, to provide a foundation for his x, 3, and here it is certainly a more convenient foundation than Pkt. But in the subsequent sūtras (except x, 5 and 11) he ignores x, 2, and compares his Pai. words with Skt. This practice Hem. also follows.

I now consider Su. 307, 325, 327. Su. 307 may be an extension of Namisādhū's Rule 2, which applies to Pāli, as in mutinga,² Skt. Mr̥danga. Nami. cites vatanam vadanam only, which Hem. repeats as vatanakam (ps.-Var's dasavatano). This example is not found in Pāli, and Nam. also may have composed his illustration to a rule which he had obtained from another authority. I have shown that Hem.'s Su. 327 is a misunderstanding of ps.-Var., x, 3, an extension of Nam., Rule 2. Similarly Hem., Su. 325, is a further extension of ps.-Var., x, 3. Hem. cannot be held responsible for the invention of this sūtra. But probably one of the grammarians of whom he complains evolved the sūtra in further elucidation of his idea of Pai. These extensions need not represent any actual language.

Su. 326, l for r remains. Hem. regards this as a general rule. Ps.-Var. does not provide for the case. But he twice quotes taluni for taruṇī, thus providing an attentive *a priori* grammarian with material for a further theory. Hem. gives as one of his illustrative words luddam for rudram. Ludda, as well as rudda, occurs in

¹ Cf. i, 100, ii, 60, in which he mentions Kaśmīra.

² mutinga, cf. Drav. *murrigai, Kan. muttige, Tam. murrukai "cover", Tel. muta "parchment of drum". Is Skt. mr̥danga "then", a product of popular etymology = clay-body, alluding to the old earthenware pot drum?

Pāli and the correspondence is the more remarkable, as Hem. breaks his own rule by spelling the word luddam, not luttam.¹

Hem.'s illustrations are not always in accordance with his rules and particularly in the CP section. In 323 he has dāva for tāva. In 326 he has agga-lagga-patibimbam, khevena, samuddā, all of which contravene Su. 325 and all Pāli forms except khevena. Pati-, paṭi- are peculiarly Pāli alternants. Thus patibimbam and paṭimā (325) are consistent with Pāli only. In 325 Hem. has tāthā for Śau. dādhā, Pāli dāthā, Skt. damṣṭrā, where again the Pāli form is nearer.

A few of the words in Su. 325 deserve notice. Nakaram = nagaram is the usual form in Ālupa inscriptions (Kanarese) of the eighth century (EI, ix, 22, SII, vii, 283), and in Sinh. inscr., first to fourth centuries (Geiger, *GSL*,² p. 47). Taṭākam for taḍāgam is given as a variant reading by a commentator on the Amarakośa, Bombay, 1907, 61.28. Its Skt. meaning is “ tank, i.e. a shallow depression backed with a bank to catch monsoon flood-water ”, Kan. taṭāka (c. A.D. 1400), Tel. taṭākamu. Dhakkā “ drum ” is found in the Amarakośa 42.6, in Apa. Hem. iv, 406, as dhakka,³ in Mar. as dhakkā, not in Guj., Hin., or Nep. in this sense, in Kan. as dhakke, in Tel. as dhakka, dhakkā “ large drum ”, Tam. takkai. Kan. has also ḍakke, and ḍankā “ kettle-drum ” is common to all neo-IA. The word is onomatopoeic and allied to taka, ṭaka, ṭanka, tanka, etc. Ṭhakku is twelfth century Kan. (Argala) for modern ṭakku “ cheating ”, Mar. ṭhak “ a cheat ” (or Ṭhag). The allusion is to the hollowness of the drum. Most of the examples, however, particularly those containing aspirates, cannot be traced, and it is idle to speculate how Hem. may have obtained them. It is just possible that Hem. may have seen the Kanarese grammar in Skt. of Nāgavarmma II, Karnāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa, c. A.D. 1145. In Su. 123 ś, ṣ becomes s, Su. 127 cites āḍ, āṭam, Su. 235 pōgu, pokkam; neḍu, neṭṭam, and Su. 188 gives alternatives of andu, indu, endu; antu, intu, entu. But these indications are slight and, if Hem. knew of these idioms, he could have learnt them in a less clear form from an unknown predecessor of Nāgavarmma II.

The curious form kupaci = kvācit given by Rāmaśarman and

¹ Pāli has other instances of a r/l alternation, e.g. cattārisa and cattālisa = catvāriṃśat, possibly via cattālisa, cf. parigha, paḷigha, paligha.

² *Grammar of Sinhalese Language*, 1938.

³ Also in Hem.'s *Kumārāpāla-caritra* exemplifying CP. (viii, 13).

Mārkaṇḍeya, seems to be analogous with ps.-Var.'s Gopinto, Kesapo, but may be a reflexion of Nag. II, Su. 128, " v becomes p when it follows o." Pāli lāpa = Skt. lāba " a quail ", an example given by Konow, *ZDMG.*, 1910, p. 115, is a case of p = v rather than b, cf. Amarakośa 128 35 lāva, but Vedic lab (Apte). Mar. lāvā, Guj. lāv.rī, Kan. lāva, Tel. lāvuku have the v form. Tel. has lāpu "lying in ambush" (Guj. Mar. lap- " lie hid "), which may indicate an early contamination of lāva.

The successors of Hem., Trivikrama, Simharājā, Lakṣmidhara, and others, of what Nitti-Dolci calls the Southern school in place of Grierson's term " Western school " (*GP.*, p. 179) and the Eastern school, contribute little to the description of Pai., and often confuse rather than simplify the question.

Hem., therefore, like all his predecessors, had in mind an early stage of Middle Indian. The association is no novelty,¹ for Pischel notes the unvoicing of voiced stops in the Aśoka and cave inscriptions (PG, § 27, Kamboca, tuphe), and Konow has given further examples (op. cit.). Konow says (id., p. 105), " Paisācī occupies an intermediate position between Śau., Mah., and Mg. and this would lead us to select a place in the Central Provinces or Central India for the locality where Paisācī was spoken." But Pāli represents an earlier stage of Indo-aryan, Patanjali's apabhraṃśa rather than the Prākṛta of the Nāṭyaśāstra. Pāli and its kind, the language of Aśoka, the Nāsik cave inscriptions, and those of Bhaṭṭiprōḷu were associated almost exclusively with Buddhism and it is not surprising that neither the Brahmans nor the Jains would even acknowledge the existence of Buddhist writings or the name of the language in which they were written. Bhūtabhāṣā, with n for ṇ, may even be earlier than Pāli.

The suggestion of P. C. Bagchi (*Journal Department of Letters*, 1931, pp. 1-10) that Cūlikā = Śūlika = Sogdian, is unacceptable, both as regards the name and the language. Iranian Saka writes intervocalic d as t, e.g. pata for pada, veta for veda (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 26), but, like the Dardic languages, has quite a different phonetic setting from that of Pāli. The Brh. may have been written in Bhūtabhāṣā as part of the movement of the rising tide of Shivaism against Buddhism. The story of Śiva and the

¹ See also Grierson, *EPG.*, p. 119, where he mentions Barth's identification of the Sthaviras' Paisācī with Pāli.

Yakṣa introducing the recensions of the Bṛh. is reminiscent of the story of Śiva and the Yakṣa introducing Kālidāsa's Meghadūta.

THE EVOLUTION OF PAISĀCĪ

How did the tradition of the Pai. described by the grammarians grow up? If Pai. is a perversion of Pāli, why has it not been previously recognized? Why did the grammarians stray from the proper forms and introduce perplexing innovations?

There are several reasons:—

(i) The shortage of texts. Not only has the original Bṛhatkathā been lost, but no text exists written in Paisācī. Apparently the writers on poetics, rhetoric, and grammar had access only to fragments preserved by other writers.

(ii) Misunderstandings of authority. In the absence of texts it was necessary to rely upon previous notices of Pai. for information about its characteristics. A misreading or an incorrect inference would lead to errors.

(iii) The need for standardization. Authors and grammarians standardize their language to be readily intelligible. The Indian grammarians reduced their rules to sūtra form and revised their illustrations to conform with their sūtras. This practice is followed by modern grammarians, especially when preparing texts of obsolete languages for beginners, e.g. Sweet in his *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*.

(iv) The name Paisācī. If you describe a language designated "crazy" or "barbarous", you are prepared for unfamiliar distortions and may be less critical.

The effect of such influences is best illustrated in Hem.'s grammar. There is only one set of sūtras, which cannot be reconciled with the current of Indo-Aryan development or, for the matter of that, with any Indian language whatsoever. They have already been noticed as Nos. 307, 325, and 327, and deal with the peculiar phenomenon of the unvoicing of voiced stops. These sūtras may represent some grammarian's or grammarians' idea of a Mleccha language, but more probably they originated as follows.

Su. 307, tados taḥ, "t remains and d becomes t." Hem. here refers to Skt. t and d. He is obviously utilizing Namisādhu's Rules, "t is always unchanged" and "t occurs sometimes for d", rules badly expressed because the exception precedes the rule. Hem. reconciles and generalizes the rules. His illustrations look like odd

words which he has met agreeing with his sūtra and some may be merely Śaurasenī words altered *ad hoc*.

In Su. 325 he adopts Kramadiśvara's vargādyau tricaturthayoḥ, "The first two (letters) of the vargas replace the third and fourth." He interprets this to mean "in all cases", but as he cannot reconcile it with Su. 307 has recourse to the theory of a dialect, which he calls Cūlikā. He then frames his Su. 325 tritīyaturyayor ādyadvitīyau, "The third and the fourth are replaced by the two first," which is simply Kram.'s sūtra reworded and reversed. He then adds, Su. 326, rasya lo vā, "r may sometimes be replaced by l," probably not from Caṇḍa, who makes the rule general, but from his own illustration found in part in Saras. i and from Saras. iii in which r is used, or a verse containing the same feature. Bhojadeva does not, however, allow the abolition of the third and fourth letters of the vargas, as in Hem.'s Su. 325,

cf. Bhoj. panamata panaapakuppitagolicalanaggalaggapaḍibimbam.
Hem. panamatha panayapakuppitagolicalanaggalaggapaḍibimbam,
Bhoj. dasasu naha dappanesu eādasatanudhalaṃ luddam,
Hem. tasasu nakha tappanesuṃ ekātasatanuthalaṃ luddam.

Hem. has emended his text, but imperfectly, so as to be consistent with his sūtras, just as Pischel has emended tanuthalaṃ by tanuthalaṃ, thinking that -thalaṃ = sthala. Hem.'s Su. 327 is the result of a misunderstanding of a third authority, the ps.-Var., part of whose sūtra he has once again reworded and reversed.¹

The later grammarians of the east and south (or west) were subject even more to errors² committed by Hem. Even the acute-

¹ i.e. n'ādi-yujyor for ayujor-anādyor.

² To illustrate the errors in which it was possible to fall, I give here two examples from Rāmaśarman.

(i) Stanza 10 (EPG., 128, 138). "In the case of abuse the termination of a noun, whose base is a, is ī in Paiśācika Śaurasena, as śiālī (= syāla 'brother-in-law')." The source of this is ps.-Var. xi, 17, Māgadhi— śiāla— from śrgāla "jackal". Mārkaṇḍeya, xii, 12, has, correctly, śiāle as a Māgadhi word.

(ii) Stanza 20 (id. 131, 141), where the error is due to a defective text.

jaai matam āruhanti giri-taṇayā paṇai-kappalā

which Grierson translates "Victory to Pārvatī, daughter of the Himālayas, who ascends upon pride to destroy it, but who is a Wishing-tree to him, who bends low before her".

This is taken from an author unknown to Rāma. It occurs in

ness of Mārkaṇḍeya could not extricate Paisācī from the confusion into which it had fallen.

Note i. L. Alsdorf considers the Vasudevahiṇḍi of Sanghadāsa, a work written in *JM.* of the fifth century A.D. or earlier to be a Jain version of the Brhatkathā with the name of Kṛṣṇa's father Vasudeva in the place of Naravāhanadatta (*XIX Inter. Cong. Orient.*, art. 10). Possibly the Brh. was a Buddhist tale revived as a Kṛṣṇa legend, then as a tale told by Śiva in Pāli, Pkt., and Skt. respectively.

Note ii. The Telugu poet Nanni-Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa is mentioned in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant of 1053 A.D., *EI.*, iv, 302 ff., as "Samskr̥ta Karmnāṭa Paisācik Āndhra bhāṣaṣu kavirājaśekhara". This poet, who can be identified with Nannayabhaṭṭa, the famous poet and grammarian, was thus a contemporary of Bhojadeva and Namisādhū. The omission of Prakrit in the list of languages can be best explained by regarding Paisācika as a southern substitute for Prakrit, and its name as a non-Buddhist equivalent of Pāli.

Saras. ii, 17, 9, but tamalliantī is read for matam āruhaṇtī. The passage runs—

vakṛ-viṣay' aucityādi-prayojyā mīrā yathā
jayati janatābhivanchita-phala-pradaḥ kalpāpādapo giriśah
jaai a tamalliantī giri-tanayā paṇai-kappalā
evaṃ bhāṣāntarāṇam api mīrī-bhāvo dṛṣṭavyaḥ

"Mīra (mixture of lines), which is to be used for suiting the meaning to the context and so forth, is, for example—

"Victorious is the Tree of Wishes, mountain-born, which yields the fruit desired by the world. Victorious to her worshippers is the Liana of Wishes, who tops the Tamāli tree, the Mountain-born (Pārvatī)."

"Thus should be regarded the trope Mīra in connection with different languages (or—translations)."

Bhojadeva's second line is clearly Prakrit (n in tanayā is irregular, but is sporadically found for ṇ, PG 224). Rāmaśarman's reading is inferior, and, as Grierson points out, matam (in the suspected passage) is the only Pāli feature.

L. Nitti-Dolci (GP 124) explains why it is unnecessary to trouble with the "mixed Paisācīs" of Rāmaśarman. He probably invented them, as she thinks, and used them to account for anomalies of language, which were, in fact, due to the inferiority of his texts.

The Origin of the Islamic Doctrine of Acquisition

By WILLIAM M. WATT

CONSIDERABLE obscurity surrounds the introduction into Islamic thought of the orthodox doctrine that it is God who "creates" the acts of man, whereas man merely "acquires" them (*kasaba*, *iktasaba*). The doctrine is sometimes attributed to al-Ash'arī, but in his *Maqālāt al-Islamīyīn* he himself frequently uses the term in his accounts of the views of other writers. This paper examines the various uses of *kasaba* and *iktasaba* in that work to see what light is thrown on the origin and development of the conception.

So far I have not come across the technical use of *kasaba* in any earlier work than the *Maqālāt*, such as the *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*. Later writers often use it in describing the views of early theologians, who, one has strong grounds for suspecting, had never heard of the conception; e.g. al-Shahrastānī (p. 97) says that the Shu'aibīya, a sect of the Khawārij, held that "God is the creator of the acts of man and that man is the acquirer"; but this appears to be an application of the terms current in the time of al-Shahrastānī to what is more simply described by al-Ash'arī as the view "that no one is capable of doing except what God wills and that the acts of men are created by God" (*Maq.* 94). Al-Ash'arī, on the contrary, was not inspired by the same desire as al-Shahrastānī to classify theologians as orthodox in so many respects and unorthodox in so many respects, and seems to report his sources *verbatim* mostly; but it is likely that the writers from whom he excerpted sometimes used their own terms to reproduce the views of other theologians, especially when these were opponents. With this qualification, however, the accounts given in the *Maqālāt* may be regarded as reliable.

(1) *Ḍirār b. 'Amr*

"The ground of separation of *Ḍirār b. 'Amr* from the Mu'tazila was his view that the acts of men are created, and that one deed comes from two doers, one of whom creates it, namely God, while the other acquires (*iktasaba*) it, namely the man; and that God is doer of the deeds of men in reality, and that men are doers of them in reality" (*Maq.* 281).

Ḍirār also held that "perception is an acquisition (*kasb*) of man,

a creation of God" (383, l. 10); and that what is generated in another from a man's act is the man's acquisition (*kasb*) and God's creation (408).

The latter passages smack somewhat of the repetition of a formula, but the first, and especially the expression "two doers or agents" (*fā'ilān*), has a unique cast of phrase that argues original thinking. This uniqueness and simplicity make it probable that Ḍirār is the author of the conception of "acquisition" as applied to human acts. He is such an obscure character, however, that before considering this doctrine, it is necessary to discover something about his general position in the development of Muslim thought.

Al-Khaiyāt in *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* (ed. Nyberg, 133) quotes Ibn al-Rāwandī as saying: "As for the doctrine of the essence (sc. of God—*māhīya*), it was held by the two sheikhs of the Mu'tazila, Ḍirār and Ḥaṣṣ al-Fard, and Thumāma also held it, and among others also Ḥusain al-Najjār, Sufyān b. Sakhtān, and Burghūth." Al-Khaiyāt replies: "The answer to this is: As for Ḍirār and Ḥaṣṣ, they do not belong to the Mu'tazila because they are Mushabbihān (anthropomorphists) through their doctrine of the essence, and their doctrine of the createdness (sc. of human acts—*bi'l-makhlūq*)." He then quotes some verses (p. 134) from a poem of Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir in which the latter, presumably speaking on behalf of the Mu'tazila, disacknowledges these two and their associates, and asserts that "their imām is Jahm".

Some connection of Ḍirār with the Jahmīya is also indicated by the statement of Ibn al-Murtaḍā (*Munya*, ed. Arnold, p. 40) that, according to al-Shaḥḥām, Ḍirār denied the punishment of the tomb. The *Fiqh Akbar I*, article 10, gives this denial as a mark of the Jahmīya (Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, 104).

Judging from the space allotted to them in the *Maqālāt* in al-Baghdādī's *Farg*, in al-Shahrastānī's *Mīlāl*, etc., we should imagine the Jahmīya to be a rather minor insignificant sect, roughly equal to one of the subdivisions of the Mu'tazila. It is somewhat surprising, then, to find al-Ash'arī in the *Ibāna* placing them on the same level as the Mu'tazila and the Ḥarūriya (or Khawārij). But there is also other evidence that in the century or so before al-Ash'arī they had a position of considerable prominence. Many theologians are said to have opposed them or to have written books to refute their teaching, e.g. *Radd 'ala 'l-Jahmīya* of Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Ikhṭilāf fī 'l-Lafz* of Ibn Qutaiba; cf. the list given by Ibn Taimīya,

Al-'Aqīda al-Ḥamawīya (in Schreiner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der theologischen Bewegungen im Islam*, Separatdruck, 120 ff.). It is also noteworthy that the Jahmīya are the only sect mentioned in the earliest form of the *Fiqh Akbar* (as indicated above).

It may be concluded that the Jahmīya constituted an important section of the Mutakallimūn in the time of the great Mu'tazilites, such as Abū 'l-Hudhail and al-Nazzām (the reign of al-Ma'mūn, and possibly earlier). Indeed, the line of division between the two was by no means hard and fast. The *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* repudiates the suggestion that various men, such as Ḍirār (and even Jahm himself—p. 126), belonged to the Mu'tazila; but that such a suggestion could be made speaks for itself. And in *Ibāna* (p. 48, l. 10, Hyderabad) al-Ash'arī appears to refer to Abū 'l-Hudhail as one of the leaders of the Jahmīya; the phrase is "*shaiḥ minhum*", but the only sect mentioned recently is the Jahmīya. There are similarities between the Jahmite view that heaven and hell come to an end and that of Abū 'l-Hudhail (as noted by Pines, *Atomenlehre*, 124 ff.); and the emphasis of the Jahmīya on the unity of God—Jahm is called "*muwaḥḥid*" (unitarian) in *Intiṣār*, 126—is in line with the Mu'tazila's preference for the designation "People of Unity and Justice".

It would seem, then, that there was this section of the Mutakallimūn, only vaguely distinguished from the Mu'tazila, which, like the Mu'tazila, emphasized the unity of God, but unlike them held equally firmly that He was omnipotent. It is possibly just because they approached closely to orthodoxy (and orthodoxy came close to them) that traces of them are few. Their followers would tend to merge into the orthodox Mutakallimūn. And since the Muslim is interested in the origin of beliefs mainly from the aspect of guaranteeing their authenticity, there would be little motive for studying their works, and their books, thus neglected, would soon cease to be extant. (The connection of the later Jahmīya with Jahm b. Ṣafwān who was killed in 128 is a difficult question which need not concern us here.)

The Jahmite view of human acts is that they are analogous to the "acts" of inanimate objects. We speak of the stone falling, the sphere revolving, the sun setting; but it is only metaphorically that these inanimate objects act. Similarly, according to the Jahmīya, it is only metaphorically that acts are ascribed to men; it is really God who is the doer of the action (*Maq.* 279). Doubtless

this theory is intended not so much to belittle human activity as to exalt the Divine omnipotence. It does not do justice to man's consciousness of "doing something", yet it presupposes that in ordinary life men are aware of the difference (or, at any rate, distinguish) between their acts and the "acts" of stones.

Ḍirār was in sufficiently close relationship to the Jahmīya of his time for an opponent to say that Jahm was his imām. His theory of human acts may therefore be regarded as an attempt to remedy this weakness in the account of the Jahmīya. Like them he does not doubt that God is omnipotent, and that the Mu'tazila are mistaken when they assert the reality of human action in such a way as to withdraw it from the sphere of Divine activity. God is the author of the existence of all that exists, and human acts are included among things that exist. Man cannot emulate God in this respect even to the very slightest extent. Yet man is not on the level of the stone or the sun. There is something which can be asserted of man "in reality"; but as this was a new conception and a new distinction there was no term to express it. Ḍirār therefore selected the word *kasaba* (or its eighth form *iktasaba*), and gave it the technical meaning of "man's share in human acts". The word normally means "earn" or "acquire", and is usually translated "acquire" in this special sense, though "appropriate" might be better from the philosophical standpoint. The precise character of man's part in human acts is thus left vague; what Ḍirār does maintain is that it is something real, and yet is completely different from God's work of creating or bringing into existence. There is, however, sufficient analogy between the two "parts" for activity to be predicated "in reality" of both God and man—unless, indeed, the doctrine of the two *fā'ilān* is a slander of Ḍirār's opponents.

The selection of the word *kasaba* has its grounds in Qur'ānic use. Both the first and eighth forms occur for instance in 2, 286, which Wensinck (*Muslim Creed*, 213) translates: "God will not burden any soul beyond its power. It shall enjoy the good which it has acquired, and shall bear the evil for the acquirement of which it laboured."

NOTE.—*The Date of Ḍirār*.—The report that makes Ḍirār a contemporary of Wāṣil b. 'Atā' is certainly mistaken. According to al-Shahrastānī (p. 63), his view that the essence of God cannot be adequately known by man is said to have been handed down from

Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150). In *Maq.* 328 we read that in respect of "hidden things" (*kawāmin*) he held that "there is none of the intermingling (*mudākhala*) which Ibrāhīm (sc. al-Nazzām) asserted". While this statement by al-Ash'arī does not necessarily imply that Ḍirār explicitly criticized al-Nazzām, it is clear from the whole passage that he was familiar with al-Nazzām's doctrine of Kumūn. He also criticized the view of the consequences of acts (*tawallud*) specially associated with Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir (*Maq.* 407 f.). Thus he cannot have lived before these men, though he may have been slightly older. On the other hand, there are no strong grounds for putting him later. I am therefore inclined to conclude that he flourished in the reign of al-Ma'mūn, and possibly in the earlier part.

(2) *Hishām b. al-Ḥakam*

"Hishām b. al-Ḥakam held that human acts are created by God. Ja'far b. Ḥarb relates that Hishām b. al-Ḥakam said that the acts of a man are his choice (*ikhtiyār lahu*) in one respect and compulsion in another (*iḍtirār*); his choice in that he wills them (*arāda*) and acquires them (*iktasaba*), and compulsion in that they do not come from him save when there arises the cause which incites to them" (*Maq.* 40 f.).

This view is elucidated by what is said on pp. 42 f. about Hishām's account of the ability or capacity to perform an act (*istitā'a*). (The account is referred to his "*aṣḥāb*"; but this does not mean that it was not also his: views attributed to the "associates of Hishām" on pp. 37 f. and 41 are attributed to Hishām himself on pp. 493 f. and 515.) The ability to perform an act presupposed (1) soundness, (2) freedom of condition, (3) adequate space of time, (4) the instrument, and (5) the cause. "He held that the act does not come about except through the originating cause, and that whenever the cause exists and has been originated by God, the act takes place inevitably." Thus Hishām regarded human activity as proceeding from a causal chain, determined by God, but conscious willing constituted one link in that chain.

There is no doubt about Hishām's allegiance to the view that God was omnipotent, which was held also by the Jahmiya and Ḍirār. It may very well be that his distinction between *iḍtirār* and *ikhtiyār* was another attempt to explain the difference between human acts and the falling of a stone which was neglected in the doctrine of the Jahmiya. Some connection between Hishām and the Jahmiya is indicated by the sentence in the account of Jahm (*Maq.* 279):—

"The only difference (sc. between human acts and the movement of a stone) is that in the case of man God has created a power (*quwwa*) and a will (*irāda*), through which the action takes place, and choice (*ikhtiyār*)."

Since the view is not so fully worked out here, and since the distinction between *idtirār* and *ikhtiyār* is not mentioned, though it is implied, it is proper to conclude that Hishām was the first to make this distinction, and that at least the use of the word *ikhtiyār* is derived from him. The view here expressed would then be that of the Jahmiya of about the time of Hishām or a little later.

(The Index to the *Maqālāt* is mistaken in stating that he died in 299 or 279. Hishām is probably a slightly senior contemporary of Dirār; he had discussions with Abū 'l-Hudhail, which the latter reported in his books (*Maq.* 32); he knew about al-Nazzām's doctrine of *kumūn* (ib. 329, cf. 60); but there is no mention of any criticism by him of Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir's doctrine of *tawallud* (cf. *Maq.* 45 f. where criticisms of other Rawāfiḍ are given).)

The word *iktasaba* occurs only in the one passage quoted above out of all the numerous references by al-Ash'arī to Hishām's views. It is used as one would use a term familiar to one's readers. A novel and original conception would require fuller explanation. The actual word may, of course, have been added to the original version by one of the reporters. If it is Hishām's own, as it might well be, it would indicate that he was aware of the conception of *iktisāb* put forward by Dirār, and regarded it as analogous to his own conception of *ikhtiyār* and *irāda*. (Dirār is called "al-Kūfī" by Ibn Ḥazm, iv, 192; and the same writer makes much of Hishām's connection with Kūfa.)

Hishām and his associates would thus represent a line of thought parallel to that of Dirār and sympathetic to it, helping to disseminate the notion of *kasb*, but preferring that of *ikhtiyār*.

(3) *al-Shaḥḥām*

One of them (sc. the Mu'tazila), al-Shaḥḥām, held: God has power over that over which He has given men power; one movement is the object of the power (*maqḍūra*) of both God and man, so that if God does it, it is compulsion, and if man does it, it is acquisition (*ḥurūra*, *kasb*).

In respect of the question whether God has power over that over which he has given men power (*Maq.* 549 f.), al-Ash'arī records that al-Nazzām, Abū 'l-Hudhail, and others of the Mu'tazila and Qadariya answer in the negative, and hold that it is absurd that one thing should be object of power to two "empowered beings" (*maqḍūr wāḥid liqāḍirain*). Only al-Shaḥḥām held the contrary view; the above statement is repeated, and then the report continues:

"Both of them are described as having power to perform the one act; but the Eternal is not described as having power that the movement should be the man's act as well as His, and the man is not described as having power that the movement should be the act of the Eternal as well as his own."

Al-Shahhām was one of the leaders of the Mu'tazila of Baṣra of his time, a pupil of Abū 'l-Hudhail and teacher of al-Jubbā'i (*Munya*, 40, etc.). His statement (ib.) that Ḍirār held a certain view indicates some contact between them; and it might be supposed that he is restating Ḍirār's conception of two agents in Mu'tazilite terms, possibly in opposition to al-Nazzām and Abū 'l-Hudhail (whose view on this question seems, in any case, to be a denial of Ḍirār's). But this cannot be so, since al-Shahhām must have held the freedom of the human will. The last part of the account of his view on this question is intended to rule out any Ḍirārite or orthodox interpretation of al-Shahhām's formula. He was presumably thinking of some such act as the raising of an arm which may be performed either voluntarily or involuntarily; in the one case it is "by acquisition" and is the man's act, and in the other it is "by compulsion" and is God's act; but the alternatives exclude one another.

The account of al-Shahhām by al-Baghdādi (*Farq*, 163) notices only this point, implies that his view has been confused with that of the Ṣifātīya (who include the orthodox), and calls attention to the difference. It is noteworthy, however, that the formula "one object of power to two empowered beings" (*maqḍūr wāḥid liqādirain*) is admitted as an account of the orthodox doctrine—which goes to confirm the primacy claimed for Ḍirār.

It seems probable that al-Shahhām's use of *kasb* and *iktisāb* was the result of his connection with Mu'ammār, either because Mu'ammār himself used the terms, or because his account of human acts (on the assumption that it was accepted by al-Shahhām) made some such terms desirable. That Mu'ammār had influenced him to some extent is shown by al-Khaiyāt's reference to him (*Intiṣār*, 53) as an associate of Mu'ammār. Mu'ammār regarded man as essentially an invisible, immaterial unity, which moderns might call "mind" or "consciousness". The man is thus quite distinct from his body; he directs it, and it is his tool. Moving, resting, colour, etc., are the body's doing. The only acts of the man are willing, knowing, disapproving (willing not to do a thing),

speculation, comparison; power (*qudra*) and life are also ascribed to the man (*Maq.* 405; cf. 331 f.).

This view enables one to distinguish between a man's voluntary acts and his involuntary or automatic movements, and to give some explanation of the difference. The sheer act of will is emphasized in an almost Kantian fashion. But, since the view maintains that the outward movement is the act or "doing" of the body, it does not make clear how the will or intention comes to be realized in outward events. The movement is, in a sense, the man's act, since by it he fulfils the law; but strictly it is only the inner act which is his. For the relation between the man in his inner being and the outward act *kasb* seems an appropriate term, especially in the light of its Qur'anic use.

The word is actually used twice by al-Ash'arī in reporting Mu'ammar's views. In a discussion of the derivation of colour from the nature of the body, there is the remark: "it is not admissible that what results from something else should be from the body's constitution, just as it is not admissible that the acquisition (*kasb*) of a thing should be the creation (*khalq*) of something else" (*Maq.* 406). That is to say, *kasb* and *khalq* exemplify things that are mutually exclusive.

On p. 417 there is a consideration of the case where a man decides to move but in fact remains still. This "remaining still", says Mu'ammar, is not an acquired act (*fi'l muktasab*) nor voluntary inactivity, but a "remaining still" by structure (*binya*; presumably = *ṭab'*—constitution). The details of this passage are a little obscure, but this appears to give the general sense. The term "acquired act" here stands for a voluntary act in distinction from involuntary movement or rest, as, for example, when owing to paralysis or nervous disorder the body does not obey the will.

These references are too slight for weighty conclusions to be built upon them. They may perhaps be taken at their face value, and then Mu'ammar would either have invented the term for himself (and Ḍirār might have borrowed from him), or else have adapted it from Ḍirār. But it is also possible that *kasb* and *muktasab* were first introduced by the person who reported Mu'ammar's views—presumably some follower of his such as al-Shahhām or Muḥammad b. 'Isā. It does, however, seem safe to conclude that the followers of Mu'ammar were prominent in the use of the conception of *kasb*, that they used it to distinguish voluntary human acts not merely

from the "acts" of inanimate things but from involuntary human "acts", and that this was connected with Mu'ammār's theory of man.

(4) *Al-Najjār and Muḥammad b. 'Īsā*

There is only one passage in the *Maqālāt* where *kasb* is used in the description of the views of al-Najjār (p. 566):—

Al-Najjār said: that man is able for acquisition (*kasb*) and unable for creation (*khalq*), and that he who has been made able to acquire a thing has been made unable to create it.

Al-Najjār's views show considerable similarity with those of Dirār, and he shares to some extent in the mystery surrounding the latter. He is mentioned (*Maq.* 415) as the source of an account of certain views of "a group of those who believe in the necessitating will (*al-irāda al-mūjiba*)"; and as the list, immediately above, of those who hold this doctrine consists of Abū 'l-Hudhail, al-Nazzām, Mu'ammār, Ja'far b. Ḥarb, al-Iskāfī, al-Adamī, al-Shahhām, and 'Īsā al-Sūfī, it would appear that al-Najjār had some connection with the Mu'tazila, and, in particular, with the school of Mu'ammār and al-Shahhām.

According to al-Baghdādī (*Farq*, 195), al-Najjār held the orthodox view that God creates the acquired acts (*aksāb*) of men. The above passage is in accordance with this. It is probably intended to guard against the suggestion, implicit in al-Shahhām's statements, that acquisition and creation were similar in kind, since they were alternatives. Al-Najjār emphasizes their difference, and the fact that man is completely incapable of anything resembling creation.

There is a long passage (*Maq.* 552-4) about Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, mentioning *kasb*; the most important sections run:—

Muḥammad b. 'Īsā denied that (sc. that God has power to force men to do the act which He wills from them) and said: if He compelled them, they would not be believing, and likewise if He compelled them to justice, they would not be just, and likewise if He compelled them to unbelief, they would not be unbelieving, for they are commanded to have faith willingly (*taw'*) and to forsake unbelief willingly, and if they have faith against their will (*karh*) and forsake unbelief against their will, they are not believers.

He said also: if God makes a knowledge, it is someone else who is knowing thereby . . . and if He makes a desire it is someone else who is desiring thereby . . . but if He makes justice it is He Himself Who is just thereby; and the Creator is not characterized as being empowered to create evil in someone else . . . Similarly it is not permissible to say that the Creator is empowered for creating the acquisition (*kasb*) of another or to say that He creates the acquisition of another.

This Muḥammad b. 'Īsā is almost certainly Muḥammad b. 'Īsā Burghūth. In general he followed al-Najjār (*Maq.* 284; *Farq.* 197). The chief special doctrine that is mentioned is that he "held that generated effects were God's act through the necessity of their nature (*tab'*); God has impressed on the stone such a nature that it moves away when it is pushed, and on animals such a nature that they suffer pain when they are struck or cut". This is very close to the teaching of Mu'ammār that accidents proceed from the nature of the substances (though Burghūth is careful to mention the Divine supremacy). There is a strong presumption in favour of H. Ritter's suggestion (*Maq.* Index, s.v.) that he is also identical with Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Sairāfi, twice given in the *Maqālāt* as the ultimate source of a report about Mu'ammār (168, 488—the former is given wrongly in the Index).

The thought here is on the lines of that of some sections of the Mu'tazila. God cannot create man's acquisition, since acquisition, like faith, is something man must do for himself. Presumably Burghūth's idea was that voluntary acts depended on a man's nature or character, in much the same way as the colour of a body depended on its nature or constitution. But, whereas Mu'ammār emphasized the relative independence of accidents, Burghūth rather pointed to their ultimate dependence on God; man's capacity for acquiring, like the body's capacity for being coloured, is God's creation.

Burghūth thus appears to have attempted to combine recognition of the reality of man's willing with the upholding of God's omnipotence. There is some indication that, in addition to the views just mentioned, he took the line that creating and acquiring are not in any way comparable or parallel. It is reported that he refused to say that the Creator is "doing" (*fā'il*), because in common speech "doing" can be used as an insult (*Maq.* 540); and al-Baghdādi (*Farq.* 197) says he differed from al-Najjār in not calling the acquirer (*mukhtasib*) "doing" (*fā'il*). Such an interpretation of the statements of Burghūth would be in accordance with his relationship to Ḍirār and al-Najjār.

(5) *Later Discussions among the Mu'tazila*

The chief reference to the conception of acquisition is in an account of some doctrines of the Baghdādiyūn (*Maq.* 550).

God is not characterized by power over the action of men or over anything in a class over which He has empowered men. He is not

characterized by the power to create faith for men by which they shall be believers, nor unbelief . . . nor rebellion . . . nor acquisition (*kasb*) by which they shall be acquiring (*muktasib*). They permitted the characterization of Him with power to create a movement by which they shall be moving, and a will by which they shall be willing, and a desire by which they shall be desiring. They consider that the movement which God makes (*fa'ala*) is different from the movement which man makes, and that if man's making (*fi'l*) resembled God's making, then man would be resembling God.

This has some similarities with al-Shahhām (who is also connected with the Baghdādiyūn in the distinction between *ṣifat al-fi'l* and *ṣifat al-dhāt*—*Maq.* 504 f.), and with Burghūth. An attempt is made to clear up the confusion left by al-Shahhām by speaking of a class of acts. Classes which have been entrusted to man comprise faith, unbelief, rebellion, and acquisition; whether they allowed man any power over movement is not clear. The distinction between the movement God makes and the movement man makes suggests the views of Burghūth. It is curious that *irāda*, which must commonly be translated “will” in contexts of this sort, should here stand for an act that can be created by God, and thus sharply distinguished from the voluntary acts designated by *kasb*. Perhaps it is here to be taken rather as “desire”, i.e. as something involuntary.

Only one other Mu'tazilite is mentioned by al-Ash'arī, so far as I have noticed, as employing the conception of *kasb*, viz. al-Nāshī (*Maq.* 501, 539), and even in his case it may be used only in al-Ash'arī's criticism of his view. He held that man does not really act or originate, but only metaphorically; God alone really and truly acts (ib., cf. 184 f.). Al-Ash'arī himself, apparently, adds the remark that he did not go so far as to say that God originated the acquisition of men.

Al-Jubbā'ī indeed mentions the word *kasb* (*Maq.* 542), but only to complain that the technical use, which we have been considering, is improper. By this time the Mu'tazilite “acquisitionists” had seemingly ceased to be.

(6) Opponents of the Mu'tazila

There are a few traces of views which clearly belong to the same universe of discourse as those of Burghūth. Aḥmad b. Salma al-Kūshānī (who is called a follower of al-Najjār—*Maq.* 541) said:—

if by saying man is “doing” (*fā'il*) you mean “creating”, that is

false, but if you mean "acquiring" (*muktasib*), that is the case; but he would not say he was "doing" in the sense of "acquiring". (*Maq.* 540.)

Yahya b. Abi Kāmil (ib.) made a slight variation:—

I do not say God is "doing" except metaphorically, and I do not say man is "doing" except metaphorically; the truth is that man is "acquiring" and God is "creating".

He is called a Mutakallim of the Khawārij (*Maq.* 120), and an account is given of his views (107 f.) which shows he was interested in problems about the reality of human activity. (These views are shared by one Muḥammad b. Ḥarb, who is probably the same as Muḥammad b. Ḥarb al-Sairafī (who holds views on perception that resemble doctrines of Burghūth, and appears to belong to the Ahl al-Ithbāt—*Maq.* 383; and it is conceivable that he is none other than Burghūth, if we assume that the latter is Muḥammad b. 'Isa al-Sairafī).

There are numerous references throughout the *Maqālāt* to Ahl al-Ithbāt, the "affirmationists". It is clear that they got their name from their affirmation of the Divine omnipotence, *ithbāt al-qadar*; cf. *Maq.* p. 93, l. 13; p. 96, l. 4, p. 97, l. 2, p. 124, l. 10. But it is not so clear who were included in them. The impression is that they comprised all opponents of the "free will" doctrines of the Mu'tazila from Ḍirār (cf. *Maq.* 408) down to the time of al-Ash'arī. The following passages seem to come from the time of Burghūth or later.

Many of the "affirmationists" said: man is really "doing" in the sense of "acquiring", but he is not "originating" (*muhdith*); I have also heard that some said man is really "originating" in the sense of "acquiring" (540).

There were some of the "affirmationists" who said that God really "does" in the sense of "creates", but man does not really "do" but only really "acquires". . . . if man could create some of his acquisition, then he could create all his acquisition, just as the Eternal, when He created some of His "doing", created all of His "doing" (541).

The Men of Truth and Affirmation (Ahl al-Haqq wa'l-Ithbāt) said that God is empowered for creating faith by which men shall be believing, unbelief by which they shall be unbelieving, acquisition (*kasb*) by which they shall be acquiring (*muktasibūn*), obedience by which they shall be obedient, and rebellion by which they shall be rebellious (551). (This is followed by a passage which says that most of the Ahl al-Ithbāt held the opposite view.)

The "affirmationists" said that the Creator is empowered over another's wickedness and over his evil and his faith and his acquisition

(*kasb*), but He is not characterized by power to do evil or to act wickedly or to acquire (*an yaktasiba*). They did not characterize their Lord with power over evil which men did not acquire, apart from groups of them who said that God is empowered to compel men to evil and wickedness, and that there is neither wickedness nor evil in the world of which God is not the doer (*fā'il*) (554).

These reports give indications of theologians who stood considerably "to the right of" Burghūth. The third passage seems to be a direct denial of views expressed by Burghūth and also by the Baghdādiyūn of the Mu'tazila. Some of them go so far as to maintain that not merely the capacity for acquiring but specific acts of acquiring are God's creation, but this happens in such a way that the voluntary character of the act is not lost.

(For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that *kasb* and *iktisāb* occur in accounts of the views of 'Abdallāh b. Kullāb; in the former he says the recitation of the Qur'ān is man's acquisition (*Maq.* 602), and in the latter he says that human speech may be either by compulsion or by acquisition (605). It is hardly possible from these slight references—especially as they may come from the reporter—to indicate his connection with the general train of thought. The Zaidiya of whom *kasb* is used (*Maq.* 72) appear to have held the common Mu'tazilite doctrine.)

(7) *Al-Ash'arī*

Al-Ash'arī doubtless shared, and may indeed have been the first to express, some of the views he describes of the Ahl al-Ithbāt. There are, however, two places where he gives a view explicitly as his own.

The truth in my view is that the meaning of "acquiring" (*iktisāb*) is that the thing happens through an originated power so as to be an acquisition of the person through whose power it happens (542).

As for myself, I say that in the case of everything which God is characterized as having power to create as an acquisition for men, He is empowered to compel them to it; and it is permissible for God to compel them to wickedness (552).

To these may be added what appears to be the only use of the word in the *Ibāna* (p. 63, Hyderabad; 103, tr.):—

There cannot be within the sphere of God's authority any acquiring (*iktisāb*) by men which God did not will.

The word does not occur at all in al-Ash'arī's statement of his beliefs, either at the beginning of the *Ibāna* or in the *Maqālāt* (290-7).

The position, in general, seems to be that, while he admits a certain reality to man's willing (though in the passage on p. 542 he carefully avoids applying *fa'ala* to man), he is primarily interested in asserting God's omnipotence.

(8) *Conclusion*

This investigation shows that the conception of *kasb* had a long history before the time of al-Ash'arī. The conception may have been introduced by Ḍirār; the Mu'tazila of the school of Mu'ammār certainly played a considerable part in developing it, directly or indirectly. Al-Ash'arī himself can have done little more than adjust the balance of the various elements in the doctrine as it had been formulated by Burghūth and others of the Ahl al-Ithbāt more or less in accordance with orthodox belief; and he seems to have attached meagre importance to the conception.

Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī

By D. M. DUNLOP

IN Baghdad of al-Ma'mūn's time there appears to have been a degree of intellectual enterprise, especially in the field of natural science, scarcely attained at any other period of Islam. The names of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī and Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir are well known among those which made the Caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, from this point of view, so celebrated in later times. Recently, while investigating the history of the Khazars, I was interested to see that al-Khwārizmī is credited by al-Muqaddasī (ed. de Goeje, p. 362) with a visit to Khazaria, and following this up to find that Suter ("Mathematiker, Nachträge," p. 159, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der math. Wissensch.*, vol. 14, 1902) thought that Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir must be meant. Elsewhere also Suter found confusion between the two names. It occurred to me that both names stood for one person, and in what follows various considerations are raised and some new material cited bearing on this possibility. It is not claimed that the identification is made out, but that it is worth considering.

The starting point of the discussion is the alleged visit of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī to Khazaria. There are several reasons for thinking that in spite of al-Muqaddasī, al-Khwārizmī did not visit Khazaria. First there is no mention of it in Ibn Khurdādhbih, though he refers to a later visit to Khazaria made by Sallām "the Interpreter" under the same Caliph (al-Wāthiq). Second, we find no evidence whatever in al-Khwārizmī's well-known *Ṣūratu'l-'Arḍ* that the author ever visited the country. He does not know the name of the capital (ed. von Mzik, p. 32). He has an odd reference to a "city of the Khazars" (مدينة الخزر) on a river of the 7th climate, apparently the Syr Darya (ibid., p. 147). He omits the names of places in Khazaria, such as Balanjar, Saqsīn, and others, which are known to later Arab geographers. Third, in his little work, *Chronology of the Jews* (مقالة في استخراج تاريخ اليهود) we should expect some reference to the Jews of Khazaria, if the author had been there, for the Judaism of the governing class at this time is pretty certain. Thanks to the trouble taken by Dr. Hamidullah of Hyderabad, I have got a

copy of this work from the Bankipore MS., and there is certainly no reference to the Khazars or Khazaria in it. These considerations would tend to prove that in spite of al-Muqaddasī's authority, al-Khwārizmī was never in the country.

Suter, from a different point of view, says the same thing (loc. cit.), thinking that probably Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir is meant, as has been said. His ground for this is that the date, 227/842, given for the journey (by Nallino in *Al-Huwārizmi, Accademia dei Lincei*, 1894, p. 8) is too late, and this, of course, applies also to al-Khwārizmī's alleged presence a year or two later at the death-bed of al-Wāthiq (when the astrologers promised the Caliph fifty years of life, and he died ten years later, *Tab.*, iii, 1364). Just why Suter thinks that the date 227/842 is too late he does not say, however. His suggestion that the sources confuse the two names is certainly not impossible. Consider the following. When we read in two passages (al-Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 362, already quoted, and al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, ii, p. 4) of "Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī the Astrologer", does this refer, as "Muḥammad b. Mūsā the Astrologer" regularly does in aṭ-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī and elsewhere to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir? If not so certainly in al-Muqaddasī, in the passage from al-Ya'qūbī, as is plain from his other references (ibid., pp. 5 and 21), al-Khwārizmī, author of the Chronology (كتاب التاريخ) is intended. (This was an important work used by Yāqūt for example (*Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 222, 504, and 799) and doubtless also by al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūju'dh-Dhahab*, Paris ed., i, 11), and, of course, distinct from the Maqālah on the chronology of the Jews above mentioned.) From what we have, either (a) there were two men called Muḥammad b. Mūsā the Astrologer, one al-Khwārizmī, the other Ibn Shākir, or (b) al-Khwārizmī in the two passages cited is wrongly given the title of "Astrologer", which normally belongs to Ibn Shākir, or (c) Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī and Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir are in fact the same.

For the last view we may advance tentatively certain arguments. First the similarity of the names extends to the kunyahs. Al-Qiftī (*Ta'rīkhu'l-Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, p. 267), in agreement with the MS. of the *Ṣūratu'l-'Ard* and that of the Maqālah (Chronology of the Jews) gives Abū Ja'far as al-Khwārizmī's kunyah,¹ and this was

¹ Karpinski is certainly wrong on this point in Robert of Chester's Latin Translation of the Algebra of al-Khwārizmī, p. 18. Univ. of Michigan Studies, 1915.

also the kunyah of Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir (ibid., p. 442). Further, al-Khwārizmī had an alternative kunyah, Abū 'Abdallah, as may be seen, e.g. on the title page of his *Algebra*, ed. Rosen. But this is given by Ibn Khallikān (English tr., iii, 315) as the kunyah of Ibn Shākir. Second, the pursuits of the two men are clearly similar. Both are represented as occupied with mathematics and astronomy. Third, they both studied at Baghdad, and apparently at the same establishment, the famous Baitu'l-Ḥikmah. (*Fihrist*, p. 274 for al-Khwārizmī; al-Qiftī, p. 441 for Ibn Shākir. See also Nallino, loc. cit., p. 7, n. 4.) Fourth, they appear to have originated in the same part of the world, for Khwārizm may be reckoned in Khurāsān, in the neighbourhood of which Mūsā b. Shākir practised highway robbery. Fifth, they are both mentioned in connection with al-Ma'mūn.

Possibly therefore the author of the *Fihrist* and al-Qiftī, writing at a considerably later date, are wrong in distinguishing the two names. It is to be noted that the indices of the Leyden edition of aṭ-Ṭabarī group under one heading "Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir al-Khwārizmī al-Munajjim ar-Rāwī" all the references which apply to both names, and that the great authority of Nöldeke is in favour of the identification (*ZDMG.* 55, 683, n. 1, end).

The conclusion to which the evidence points would thus be that there is only one Muḥammad b. Mūsā, whose historical journey to Ephesus—given by Ibn Khurdādhbih, al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology* (al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah) ed. Sachau, p. 290 and others—has perhaps served as the basis of the story in al-Muqaddasī that he visited Khazaria. Consequently we must allow that the visit to Khazaria ascribed by al-Muqaddasī to Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī and supposed by Suter to have been made by Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir may never have taken place.

Magical Terms in the Old Testament

By A. GUILLAUME

I AM not clear as to what Professor Driver's exact position is. On the last page of his criticism¹ of my paper on this subject,² he says that "the majority of additional passages [in the O.T.] in which witchcraft is suspected are almost, if not quite, all susceptible of alternative explanations"; while on p. 6 he is good enough to say that some of my suggestions "seem eminently convincing". As they all had to do with magical terms I cannot reconcile his statements.

My paper was avowedly a philological sequel to my *Prophecy and Divination*, and Professor Driver has not faced the arguments and evidence adduced there.³ Nor, in my opinion, has he grasped the significance of Accadian society if he can write in all seriousness that the prevalence therein of magical arts "can be and often is greatly exaggerated". So far is this from the truth that it may be confidently affirmed that Babylonian mythology, ritual, and intercession are bound up with the use of appropriate incantations. Further, excavations have brought to light an enormous number of apotropaic figures intended to ward off the attacks of demons and their mouthpieces the sorcerers. Thus it is abundantly clear that the Babylonian conception of a world distraught by evil forces which only appropriate anti-magical action could counteract was part of a logical whole.⁴ So much for the argument in general.

Professor Driver's criticism of particulars centres round my interpretation of *hawwāh*, and I will endeavour to answer his points *seriatim*.

1. There is no *non sequitur* in my reading of Is. xlvii, 11. It is the evil which cannot be charmed away⁵: unfortunately for Professor Driver נִסָּךְ does have magical associations. By sympathetic magic the Babylonian priests were believed to transfer disease

¹ In *JRAS.* 1943, 6-16, entitled "Witchcraft in the Old Testament".

² *Id.* 1942, 111-131.

³ See esp. 233-239. A summary of the evidence for the existence of magic among the Hebrews, which formed the introduction to my essay, was cut out to save paper.

⁴ See the writings of Jastrow, Campbell Thompson, and Gadd.

⁵ "Overcome" would make no difference to my argument.

from a sufferer to another person or object, and such action was described by the verb *kuppuru*.

2. I am inclined to think that Professor Driver is right in referring שָׁחַד to the Arabic سَخَّر "constrain", rather than to سَجَّر "bewitch"; but at what cost to his position! He gets rid of my "evil word of power" in Ps. xxxviii, 13, only to admit "bewitched" (סָחָר) two verses previously. In effect Professor Driver is saying that the psalmist complains that his heart is bewitched, but we must not interpret any other term or circumstance in a magical sense; and this notwithstanding that v. 12 shows the sufferer under the tabu¹ so dreaded by the Accadians while it describes exactly what Ibn Hishām² says that the sorcerer does in alienating a man from friends and kinsmen.

3. I cannot find that I am wrong in saying that *hawwāh* is connected with speech no less than eight times, and I leave the interested to examine the contexts for themselves.

4. Professor Driver complains that I do not indicate which lexicologist I follow in my derivation of *hawwāh*. It should be obvious that I put forward a new suggestion.³

5. I am misrepresented. I did not assign a magical sense everywhere to *hawwāh* "whether the passage . . . is magical or not". I asserted⁴ that in some cases it has become weakened, and I assumed that Hebraists would at once think of parallels such as עוֹן which stands for (a) iniquity and (b) punishment its consequence. Similarly *hawwāh* means (a) curse, and (b) its consequence calamity.

6. If Professor Driver can assert that *awātu* which undoubtedly does mean "binding curse" in maledictory contexts, cannot legitimately be given a bad meaning in Hebrew, it is strange that he should feel no qualms in giving هَوَاء which generally has a favourable meaning in Arabic an evil twist in Hebrew.

7. In Is. xlvii, 11, "there is no mention of the organs of speech." I agree; but for my thesis there need not be when the writer⁵ inveighs against the multitude of the spells and sorceries of the Babylonians. We are surely not to suppose against all the evidence

¹ Campbell Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, II, xlvii.

² *Sirah*, Cairo, n.d., 166.

³ *v.i.*, ad fin.

⁴ p. 144, l. 5.

⁵ vv. 9-12.

of the Bab. anti-magical and exorcist tablets that they acted in dumb show. Further, I cannot believe that after threatening the Babylonians with the extermination of the male population, the Second Isaiah ended with an anti-climax: "An ill wind will fall upon you and you can't propitiate it." (How does one propitiate an ill-wind?)¹ Obviously Is. xlvii shows that it is incorrect to say that "in none of these passages does the context suggest or support anything in the nature of a 'magical word of power'".

8. On *מַרְמֶה* and *דָּגָה* see *Pr. and Div.*, 279.

9. Ps. v, 10, Professor Driver renders "All the day thou devisest windy words (with) thy tongue as a sharpened razor working slander". Thus he gives us a razor to raise the wind, a defective parallelism, and an unnecessary preposition. This v. would have meant to Arabs and Accadians² that the wicked had laid the speaker low by a potent curse.

10. The meaning "sure" for *נְכוֹנָה* cannot be pressed. Elsewhere³ it means what is right and proper, and the writer of Ps. v, 10, says "They can say nothing that is right (for) they are filled with curses within". Thus Professor Driver's argument is not cogent.

11. Professor Driver thinks that Ps. xci, 3, contains no other allusion to charms and spells, but that is not the view of Jews ancient and modern, nor of Nicolsky.⁴

12. The objection that *kasû* "bound" is "always and only used of binding limbs" may hold in the present state of our knowledge of Accadian; but I see no reason why in Heb. it should not follow the use of its synonym *אָסַר* which can be used of binding concrete

¹ Professor Driver has failed to perceive the meaning of *כַּפַּר*.

² And to ancient Aryans also, cf. *Rigveda*, vi, 75, 16:—

Loosed from the bowstring fly away,
Thou arrow sharpened by our prayer (or spell).
Go forth and fall upon our foes,
And leave not one of them alive.

For the defensive counter-spell, cf. v. 19:—

Whoso would kill us, whether he
Be alien foe or one of us,
May all the gods discomfit him,
Prayer (spell) is my dearest coat of mail.

The Religion of the Rigveda, H. D. Griswold, Oxford, 1923, 42 f. "Some, if not all, of the stanzas of this hymn are probably spells, and doubtless they owe their preservation to their apparently successful use in this capacity."

³ Cf. Ex. viii, 22; Job xlii, 7, 8, where "sure" would be an impossible rendering.

⁴ See *P. & D.*, 266, 284-8, and *Spuren magischer Formeln in den Psalmen*, Giessen, 1927, 14 ff.

objects and binding words.¹ Moreover, a word borrowed from another language need not and does not always follow strictly the usage prevailing in the lender's speech. The point that no Hebrew would dare to speak of coercing Yahweh by spells is blunted by the fact that the form of the question indicates that the suggestion is outrageous. But be that as it may, I suggested as an alternative "have fellowship with thee".

Again, there is no question of a "precious pair of knaves". Parallelism requires that the second half should illustrate the first half of the verse as it does throughout this psalm. Moreover, to render עַל־הַקֶּךָ "unlawfully" is to ignore the fact that קֶךָ means a *specific* decree or law.

Finally, Professor Driver has given his whole case away by reminding us that Ugar. *hwt* with the variants *hmt* and *hyt* mean *word* pure and simple. He had previously argued that *hawwōth* meant wind and had nothing to do with Acc. *amātu* "word" or "potent curse". Since *hwt* meant "word" in Ras Shamra in the second millennium, and "evil word of power" in Jerusalem a thousand years later, and in Babylonia *aw/mātu* held both meanings, I do not think that we need proceed further with the argument.²

¹ For the latter use, cf. Num. xxx, 3 ff., and Strack and Billerbeck, i, 738, 9.

² I find that I have been anticipated in the identification of (proto) Heb. *hwt* (though not the biblical Heb. *hawwāh*) with the Accadian *amātu*. Virolleaud, *Danel*, 159, writing of the three forms quoted above says: "Ces trois formes, dont la plus fréquente est *hwt*, étant interchangeables, il y a là simplement trois aspects différents d'un seul et même vocable; c'est l'acc. *awātu* ou *amātu*, 'parole, ordre.'" Incidentally the forms in Ugaritic show that *hayyāh* is a legitimate variant of *hawwāh*.

The Romance of the Indian Calendar

By C. A. KINCAID

THE romance of the calendar is the history of 3,000 years of human effort to fix definitely the equinoxes and to harness the solar year to the lunar months. Our European calendar has fixed the equinoxes, but has abandoned wholly the lunar months in the struggle. India, however, has lunar months and a solar cycle. She also has a fifteen-day fortnight as well as a seven-day week. Let us first examine India's week.

The week is not an Indian home growth, but it has for at least two thousand years obtained "droit de cité" in India. According to Cassius Dio,¹ the week was invented in Egypt. The Egyptians had a solar year of twelve months of thirty days, plus five extra days making a year of three hundred and sixty-five days. Besides the month they had a smaller section of seven days, and they called the days after the sun and moon and the five deified planets. The next question is how the week came to India. It was almost certainly brought by the Greeks. In classical times the Greeks had in each month three weeks of ten days each; but on Alexander's conquest of Egypt they came into contact with the seven day week and seem to have adopted it as well as the planetary names of the weekdays. This view is supported by a graffito in Pompeii. Therein are written the Greek names of the weekdays (*Θέων ἡμέραι*) as *Ἡλίου*, *Σελήνης*, *Ἀρέως*, *Ἑρμοῦ*, *Δίος*, *Ἀφροδείτης* and *Κρόνου* (i.e. the day of the sun, the day of the moon, the day of Ares or Mars, the day of Hermes or Mercury, the day of Zeus or Jupiter, the day of Aphrodite or Venus and the day of Kronos or Saturn).

It is unlikely that Alexander's short invasion of India established the week there, but it may well have been introduced by the Maurya emperors of Pataliputra as a result of their long and friendly relations with the Seleucid kings of Syria or by the Bactrian Greeks, when they occupied the Panjab and Sind.

However this may be, the weekdays of India have closely preserved their connection with the sun, moon, and the five planets,

¹ Sewell and Dikshit (*The Indian Calendar*, p. 2) think that the week came from Chaldaea. It may, of course, have gone to Egypt from Chaldaea.

e.g. they are called by the Hindus Ravivar or Sun's day, Somwar or Moon's day, Mangalwar or Mars' day, Budhwar or Mercury's day, Brihaspatiwar (or Guruwar) that is Jupiter's day, Shukrawar or Venus's day, Shaniwar or Saturn's day.

To pass on to the months, the Hindus have lunar months linked to a solar cycle. They begin on the new moon and last from one new moon to the next. Now twelve lunar months cover a period of 354 days only. In three years this difference amounts to thirty-three days. This defect is remedied by inserting seven intercalary months in nineteen years or, to put it differently, the Hindus have a nineteen year cycle, consisting of twelve years of twelve lunar months and seven years of thirteen lunar months.¹ The intercalary months do not occur at regular intervals. The rule governing them is as follows. To each of the twelve lunar months one of the twelve zodiacal divisions or sankrants is allotted. The sankrants vary in length from 29 to $32\frac{1}{2}$ days; thus it sometimes happens that a lunar month passes without a fresh sankrant. An intercalary month is then added. It takes the name of the month that it succeeds, but is in addition called *adhik* or extra.

The Hindu month is divided into two halves—the shudh or shukla paksh (the clean or bright half) and the vadhya or krishna paksh (the dark half). Each half month has fifteen days or tithis.² They vary in length but average 23 hours and 37 minutes, so that thirty tithis approximately equal the lunar month of 29·53059 days. They are numbered, but by Sanskrit and not by vernacular numbers, e.g. the first is called Pratipada, the second dwitya, the third tritya, the fourth chaturthi, the fifth panchmi, the sixth shashti, the seventh saptami, the eighth ashtami, the ninth nawami, the tenth dashami, the eleventh ekadashi, the twelfth dwadashi, the thirteenth trayodashi, the fourteenth chaturdashi, and the fifteenth is called purnima or full-moon day. The second half is numbered in the same way, only the fifteenth is not called purnima. It is called amawasya or living together. It is believed that, because there is no moon visible and the sun and moon are in the same quarter, they are living together.

¹ The Hindu cycle resembles the Greek metonic cycle, and the resemblance may not be merely fortuitous, for the metonic cycle was still in use in Greece long after the time of Alexander's invasion of India.

² For the Hindu method of calculating tithis, see *The Indian Calendar*, p. 3 (Sewell and Dikshit).

All over the Bombay Presidency the months have similar names ; but south of the Narbada river, the first month of the year is Chaitra (March and April). Then follow Vaishakh (April and May), Jeshta (May and June), Ashadh (June and July), Shrawan (July and August), Bhadrapad (August and September), Ashwin (September and October), Kartik (October and December), Paush (December and January), Phalgun (February and March). North of the Narbada the Hindu year begins on the first of Kartik. This latter era is known as the Samwat and dates from 56 B.C. South of the Narbada prevails the former, known as the Shaliwahan era ; it dates from A.D. 78.

I have never heard the alleged origin of the Samwat era ; but Sir R. Bhandarkar has suggested that the Shaliwahan era commemorates the expulsion of the Sakas from the Deccan. I prefer, however, the following story known to all little Maratha boys and girls. In A.D. 78 the great king Vikrama or Vikramaditya ruled in Ujjain. By his virtues he had won a boon from the gods, that he should not die, save by the hand of a child born of a girl two and a half years old. When king Vikrama grew old, many heavenly signs and ghastly portents were seen at Ujjain. Vikrama asked his astrologers the cause. They replied that such omens could only foretell the death of the king. The latter, badly frightened, sent out the ghost king Vetāl to find out whether there was such a child. After many days of vain search, Vetāl came to the town of Paithan on the Godavari. There he saw in the house of a potter a little boy playing with a little girl, hardly older than himself. Vetāl asked how they were related. The little girl answered, " This is my son," and pointing to a Brahman said that he was her father. Vetāl questioned the Brahman. " The little girl is my daughter," said the Brahman. " The serpent king loved my daughter and she bore him the little boy. His name is Shaliwahan." On hearing this, Vetāl rode back hard to Ujjain and told Vikrama. The king with an army marched against Paithan to kill the little boy ; but the boy was too quick. He struck Vikrama with his little club, so that the king died instantly. This happened on the first Chaitra A.D. 78. On the same day Shaliwahan seized Vikrama's throne and founded the Shaliwahan era.

In spite of their learning the Hindu almanac makers have never allowed for the precession of the equinoxes. This is caused by the action of the other planets on the earth. Their action affects the

ecliptic and takes the seasons completely round in 25,730 years. At the present time the winter solstice or makar sankrant is celebrated on the fourteenth of January instead of the twenty-first of December; and within my own recollection the Makar Sankrant has moved from the thirteenth to the fourteenth January.

There are two Musulman year systems in India. The better known one is the year of the Hijra, that is said to have begun on the 16th July, A.D. 622, the anniversary of Mahomed's flight from Mecca to Medina. This year is purely lunar and in every thirty-two and a half years it makes a complete circle and returns to its starting point. Its months have alternately twenty-nine and thirty days. Unfortunately this lunar year is used by Musulmans for fixing religious festivals and is the chief cause of religious riots, for Hindu and Musulman feast days are constantly clashing.

The Musulmans use the week and their names for the weekdays are similar to the Hindu names except that of Friday, viz. : 1 Itwar, 2 Pir or Somwar, 3 Mangal, 4 Budh, 5 Jumarat or Brihaspatwar, 6 Juma, 7 Sanichar.

The Moghuls for revenue purposes introduced a solar year, based on the ancient Persian system, but without intercalation. It was called Fasli or the crop year. Akbar is popularly credited with its introduction in A.D. 1555. To obtain the Fasli date one must deduct 592-3 from the Christian year. I am informed that the Fasli year is still in use in the United Provinces, but I have never come across it in the Bombay Presidency.

The Parsi calendar is perhaps the most romantic of all. It is the same as the old Persian calendar. It was the practice of every Sassanide king of Persia to found a new era, when he ascended the throne; but he always closed the first year of his era on the 21st March. Since Yazdagird, the last Sassanide king of Persia—and the Parsis have never recognized any of his successors as *de jure* rulers—began his reign on the 16th June, A.D. 632, the present year of the Parsi era should be 1311. It is actually 1312. The difference is due to the absence of any intercalation since Yazdagird's death. I shall refer to this later.

The Parsis have no weekdays, but they have twelve months each of thirty days. The months are called : 1 Fravardin, 2 Ardibihisht, 3 Khordad or Haurvatat, 4 Tir, 5 Amardad, 6 Sheriwar, 7 Meher or Mitro, 8 Awan, 9 Adar, 10 Dae, 11 Vohuman, 12 Spendarmad.

Each one of the days of the month has a separate name.¹ Thirty however, multiplied by twelve only makes a year of 360 days. To these five more days, known as gathas, are added. They are named after the gathas or holy hymns of Zoroaster; but the solar year consists of 365 days, 5 hours, and 54 seconds. Europeans correct their calendar by the addition or intercalation of a day in February every fourth year. The ancient Persians corrected theirs by the intercalation (kabisa) of a month of thirty days every one hundred and twenty years ($30 \times 4 = 120$); but after the downfall of the Sassanide kingdom the fugitive Zoroastrians (i.e. the Parsis) omitted the intercalation. The Zoroastrians, who remained in Persia, remembered to do so, but once only. When some centuries later both sections met in India, it was found that the Parsis began their new year a month later than the other section, now known as Iranis, that is to say that the Parsis began their month in September and the Iranis in August. This led to a bitter controversy, only allayed when it was found that both sections were wrong. Had the old Persian system of intercalation been correctly maintained, the new year would have begun neither in August nor in September, but on the 21st March, the day of the vernal equinox.

¹ See p. 45 of my little book *Our Parsi Friends* (Bombay, *Times of India Press*).

Raqami

By SIR RICHARD BURN

IN chapter 15 of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (translation, ii, p. 88), Abul Fazl says that when Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan was Vazir the *jama-i-witayat* was *raqami*. The late Mr. Moreland in *The Agrarian System of Moslem India* (App. E, pp. 238 sqq.) came to the conclusion that *jama-i-witayat* meant the valuation of land revenue, but he was unable to explain the term *raqami* with certainty. Its meaning here is of importance in the history of land revenue assessment, and various guesses had been made to explain it. Jarrett (*Ain.*, trs., ii, p. 88) thought it meant "estimated", while Beveridge (*Akbarnama*, trs., ii, p. 402, n. 2) suggested that it might refer (a) to the system of arithmetical notation known in India as *raqam* or *siyāq* which is based on contractions of Arabic names of numbers, or (b) to assessment depending on the kind of produce, *raqam* being used in the sense of description.

None of these explanations appeared satisfactory. It is clear from the text that the *raqami* valuation was liable to arbitrary increases according to the increasing needs of the exchequer. A phrase in the report on the Survey and Assessment of the Bankapur Taluq in Dharwar (Blue Book on Revenue Survey, and Assessment (India), No. 999, 20th August, 1853, p. 387) seems to suggest a clear meaning of the phrase. Captain Wingate writes :—

"The plan followed does not appear to have been everywhere the same. Generally, however, the 'rukhum' or rate of assessment per mar, was uniform through each district, and the adjustment of this to the various qualities of soil effected by an alteration in the size of the mar. Instead of the land measure as with us, the rate of assessment was the invariable element in the Annagoondee survey. Thus in the Seegaon mahal of the Bunkapoor talook, there is said to have been three sizes of the mar, all assessed at the same unvarying 'rukhum' viz., the first or standard mar of good land of four koorgees (10 to 20 acres), the second for medium soil, of six koorgees; and the third for inferior land of eight koorgees. The 'rukhum' would seem to have been fixed very low, which rendered unnecessary any greater refinement in classification of soils than is here shown'."

Sir P. R. Cadell, whom I consulted about the interpretation of the terms used in Bombay, has pointed out that in Marathi the word *rakami* is used in the sense of "fixed" or "settled", and referred

me to the Dharwar *District Gazetteer* (1884). This shows (pp. 440-3, 447) that the system described by Wingate was instituted by Krishnarāya of Vijayanagar (1508-42) and was then known as the *rāya-rekha-mār* system because the *mār* or unit of area was based on a royal (*rāya*) measure of length (*rekha* = line). Specimen lengths of different sizes have been found engraved on stone at several places.

When the tract of Dharwar passed to the Bijapur kingdom in 1573, the system was preserved, but the term *raqam* was applied to the standard. It thus appears that *raqami* was used for a uniform cash rate fixed on a given area, and this sense agrees completely with the text of the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbarnama* condemning the system. Sher Shah, who had personal experience in his youth of administering the land revenue system, had begun to improve it by ascertaining the average value of different kinds of produce and assessing on a proportion of that value (Moreland, p. 76), but his reign was short and was followed by a troubled period during which the administration went back. Khwaja Abdul Majid, who became vazir in the fifth year of Akbar's reign, thus found the system which applied a uniform rate to a given area liable to arbitrary increases. It remained for Akbar to improve on and extend Sher Shah's reforms.

We have no information whether the unfairness of applying a uniform rate to land without regard to its productive capacity was mitigated in northern India as it was in the south by alterations in the unit area. But in modern times where I have come across an apparently uniform rate of rent in a village, its fairness was secured by including in a holding a reasonable area of each of the principal classes of soil in the village.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

THE CHURCH OF THE EASTERN CHRISTIANS. By NICOLAS ZERNOV, D.Phil. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 5, pp. v and 114. London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1942. Paper, 2s. 6d. ; cloth, 4s.

High Church divines who fled to the continent during the Cromwellian period may be regarded as precursors of the movement for the reunion of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. The first of a series of negotiations with this object were undertaken by some of the non-jurors at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1869 Archbishop Tait exchanged friendly letters with the Patriarch of Constantinople, but the only reciprocity on which agreement was reached concerned the burial of the dead ! In spite of disappointments, however, the movement lives on ; it has grown in strength notably in the last twenty years, and has come more than once within an ace of success.

Dr. Zernov, the author of the little book named above, believes that apathy rooted in ignorance is the main reason why it has failed hitherto, because, as he says, the two Churches " have no fundamental doctrinal disagreements, their members feel friendly towards each other, and many of them wish to see unity achieved." His book is an attempt to disperse this ignorance ; it is " a description of the Eastern Church by one of its members who has lived among Western Christians for some years, and is aware of the differences which divide and the similarities which unite the two main streams of the Christian tradition " ; neither controversial in tone nor merely scholarly.

The book is eminently readable. Part I (pp. 6-72) gives a popular account of the two Churches in which the differences are certainly not understated. We have found the chapters on " The worship of the Eastern Church " and " The Eucharist " particularly interesting. Churchgoing in Russia, we are told, is not thought a duty but a privilege, admitting the worshipper to a gathering of the living with the dead in which the saints painted on walls and ikons are the most honoured guests ; the whole rhythm and colour of the services change from season to season, the long readings, numerous genuflections and prostrations of Lent are followed at Easter by services

where everything is sung and for six weeks kneeling is banned; the laity play a much greater role than in the West. The Russian Eucharist is visualized as a drama in three "acts"; the priest symbolizes the Saviour, the deacon and choir the chorus, and the congregation as in ancient mysteries identify themselves with the life of the hero, living through the divine drama; the logical formulae and definitions of the Western Church are mistrusted. Part II (pp. 73-109) discusses the prospect of reunion.

The book may be warmly commended as a brilliant and sympathetic introduction to a great subject and one which throws light incidentally on many other elements in Russian life, on Russian literature, music, and the drama.

We have noticed three slips which should be corrected in a later edition, on p. 56 eighteenth for eighth, on p. 66 Psalm Sunday for Palm Sunday, and on p. 70, 1406 for 406.

B. 748.

J. W. CROWFOOT.

GRAND TURK. By W. T. F. CASTLE. pp. 170, illus. 17, maps 9.
London: Hutchinson and Co., 1943. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Castle has written a lively and accurate history of Turkey during the last century and a half. Occasionally he has let his enthusiasm run away with him, for it is an exaggeration to say that all the evils from which Turkey suffered were due to the influence of other nations or foreign minorities; much of the bad government was due to the Turks themselves. It is taken for granted that Hatay, the sanjak of Alexandretta, is Turkish; a good case could be argued that the French thought only of their own advantage and sold the interests of their mandate, Syria. Nothing is said of the rising of the Kurds in 1924 or of the savagery with which it was crushed. "Kurd" does not occur in the index. For Turkish names the official Turkish spelling is used, sometimes. Most have heard of an old woman of Smyrna, so it is a cause of confusion to use "Smyrna" in the name of a railway run by European capital and Izmir elsewhere. Even worse is "Abdül the Damned"; Abdül is a contraction that would be used by no Oriental, while "Abdul" is thoroughly at home in English—witness "Abdul the bulbul emir". Exception might be taken to what is said about Islam. It is not fair to call it a fanatical religion; many of its adherents have been so but it must be remembered that the judge who said

that a forced conversion is no conversion, thus saving the life of Maimonides, was also a Muslim. The gravest charge brought against the heretic Jahm is that he made man a tool in the hand of God; if Muslims have been fatalists this must not be laid entirely to the charge of their faith. Still a student who trusts to this book will not go far wrong. Abd ul-Hamid was a bad lot, but even he does not deserve to be represented by two shots from a Hollywood film. And the author's sketch of Atatürk is a poor thing.

B. 749.

A. S. TRITTON.

ALFARABIUS DE PLATONIS PHILOSOPHIA. Ed. by F. ROSENTHAL and R. WALZER. (Corpus Platonicum medii aevi.) pp. xxii + 30 + 23. Warburg Institute, London, 1943. 15s.

The Warburg Institute has begun a new venture, Plato in Arabic, as part of a bigger whole. The present volume, though the second in the series, is the first to be published; it contains the Arabic text, with translation, introduction, and notes in Latin. The booklet by al-Farabi contains a list of the dialogues with brief summaries and assumes that all of them combine to form a coherent and consistent whole. There is nothing in the text to prove that the logical order was held to be that in which they were written. The text exists in one MS. at Stamboul and Dr. Kraus has corrected the many errors in it; indeed, one feels that his name should be on the title page. The editors take it for granted that this book derives from a Greek original and set out arguments to prove that it came to al-Farabi through a Syriac version. As a possible original they suggest the work of Theon, which is mentioned in the *Fihrist*. There is no mention of the doctrine of ideas or the immortality of the soul, for al-Farabi rejected them. The name of the printer is not mentioned; the signs [] and < > are not explained; there is certainly one misprint in the Arabic text; and in the note to lines 7-8 on p. 11 one does not see how the Hebrew text can be made to necessitate an Arabic accusative. The editors have left little room for criticism; in these days a book written in Latin seems a guarantee of order and stability.

B. 750.

A. S. TRITTON.

Far East

CHINESE PHILOSOPHY IN CLASSICAL TIMES. Edited, annotated, and newly translated by E. R. HUGHES. Dent and Sons, Ltd. (Everyman's Library, 973). 1942. 3s.

THE GREAT LEARNING AND THE MEAN-IN-ACTION. Newly translated from the Chinese, with an introductory essay on the History of Chinese Philosophy. By E. R. HUGHES. Dent and Sons, Ltd. 1942. 8s. 6d.

The great era of Chinese philosophy extends over some three centuries from the time of Confucius. The old feudal system was crumbling, and men were busy seeking for new foundations on which to build their lives. From the resulting intellectual ferment many rival philosophies emerged. The Way of the Confucianists was sublimated into the transcendental Taoist Way, Mo Ti's doctrine of Universal Love was countered by the reasoned Egoism of Yang Chu, and the harsh legalism of Shang Yang had to fight its way against bitter opposition from other schools of thought. From over a score of works produced at that time (that of Yang Chu, strangely enough, is not among them) copious extracts are translated in the present "Everyman" volume; the other book contains a full translation of two short but important treatises taken from the Book of Rites, which are generally found in conjunction with the Confucian Analects and Mencius. Altogether, it is an ambitious task that the author has set himself, challenging comparison with Professor Forke's *Geschichte der alten Chinesischen Philosophie*, published fifteen years ago, in which there is also much translation. Though he lacks the sound scholarship and sober judgment of Professor Forke, Mr. Hughes has a nimbler wit and a more fascinating style. New trains of thought are constantly suggesting themselves to his mind, and indeed he is apt to launch out on discussions which have but a remote connection with the subject in hand. This discursiveness is very apparent in his lengthy introduction to *The Great Learning*. He tells us that he had planned not more than forty pages, but found that in spite of repeated efforts the forty became a hundred. Small wonder, too, seeing that he rambles on from the early Jesuit missionaries to Leibniz, Locke, Rousseau, and the French encyclopædists, following this up with a survey of Chinese civilization down to Chu Hsi and the Neo-Confucianism of the Sung dynasty; after which, doubling back,

he passes the principal Chou philosophers under review before he comes at last to his real theme. Somewhat out of breath, we feel tempted to ask whether this journey was really necessary—an ungracious question, perhaps, because Mr. Hughes' digressions, however long, are never dull.

But what of the translations, which after all provide the main test by which these books must be judged? Here, it must be confessed, Mr. Hughes fails to pass muster. For the Confucianist writers, he appears to base himself mainly on Legge (of whom he speaks in a patronizing manner rather hard to stomach); for the *Tao Tê Ching*, he relies largely on Mr. Waley; and so on. But his attempts to improve upon his models here and there lead him almost invariably to disaster. Take this saying from the *Analects*, ix, 25: "A great army may be robbed of its leader, but nothing can rob one poor man of his will." Mr. Hughes has "You can rob the armies of Lu State of good order, but you cannot rob the humblest man of his aims." Reference to the Chinese will show what mistakes are made in this short sentence. In chap. 49 of the *Tao Tê Ching* Lao Tzū says: "With the faithful I would keep faith; with the faithless I would also keep faith, in order that they may become faithful." Without any visible justification this is turned into: "Truth-speakers I treat as truth(-)speakers: liars also I (must) treat as liars, for thus I obtain truth-speaking (from them)." Other mis-translations, equally heinous, occur far too frequently. It is not after such a careless fashion that the gems of Chinese thought should be presented to a confiding public. As for the minor details of transliteration and the indication of aspirates, Mr. Hughes flounders in a bog of inconsistency; nor is it possible to blame the printer for blunders so often repeated. When we see one of the commonest words of the language, namely *ju* ("as" or "like") figuring as *yü* several times on different pages, we can only rub our eyes in wonder.

LIONEL GILES.

BROUGHT UP IN ENGLAND. By H.R.H. PRINCE CHULA
CHAKRABONGSE OF THAILAND. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 322. London,
1943.

The biography of to-day becomes the history of to-morrow and that adds value to this book, which as well as radiating the charm

and *joie de vivre* of its author is, Sir Josiah Crosby considers, "unique of its kind in that it tells the story of an Asiatic Prince who, after being educated in England, has made his permanent home there, and has married an English lady, and yet at the same time has never lost contact with the land of his origin, to which he pays frequent visits, whose language he speaks to perfection, and in whose affairs he takes a deep and abiding interest." If the Siamese of Prince Chula is half as good as his English, then the method of his education is a pattern to be followed. He has (p. 127) the views of all sensible men on lectures. He gives glimpses of Chaliapine (p. 197), Sacha Guitry (p. 200), and celebrities of the motor-racing world as well as fuller portraits of King Chulalongkorn, Prince Chakrabongse, and, above all, of His Majesty King George V, of whom are related new and characteristic anecdotes (pp. 210, 215). This pleasant book is of permanent interest as showing how it has been possible for one brought up in an atmosphere of Buddhist kindness to live with perfect poise between the two worlds of Asia and Europe and in any society.

B. 753.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

HOUSEKEEPING AMONG MALAY PEASANTS. By ROSEMARY FIRTH.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$, pp. viii + 198, pls. viii. London: Percy Lund, Humphries and Co., 1943. 10s.

This is the seventh "Monograph on Social Anthropology" printed for the London School of Economics and Political Science. It is the fruit of a study of 1,301 Kelantan folk on the most remote coast of British Malaya. Such detailed information may be of considerable value to the administrators of Kelantan or serve as a model for the investigation of the economic structure of larger and more important Malay communities. But it seems a pity that the book contains no outline of method and results for the use of students in Britain, who can hardly without a breach of proportion be expected to scrutinize the weekly budgets of Ioh, Lijo, Sone, Sari, and Seripoh.

To one acquainted with Malaya the descriptive chapters are interesting, though even they are too often rendered difficult by the cumbrous and obscure jargon of the modern anthropologist. *Compulsive* (p. 120) = *obligatory* or *imperative*, of funeral celebrations; *closely related women* (p. 121) = *close female relations*;

are examples taken at random of misused words and needless circumlocutions. What is *on a less important level* in the last sentence on p. 55, and what is the meaning of *On the positive side*, in line 7, p. 4? The last half of the second paragraph on p. 15 "blunders round about a meaning", and so does the end of the first paragraph of the Introduction, while the third sentence on p. 17 is suspended in the air.

The author seems unaware that a practical knowledge of Malay, by which she means acquaintance with a dialect, is not uncommon among Europeans. One Malay ruler used to say of a senior official that he was so prone to Perak dialect that he spoke even English with a Perak river accent. The wife of another ruler criticized an official to me for spoiling his excellent Malay by talking like a peasant. The writer in her book wavers between standard Malay (pp. 43-4) and Kelantan dialect. As few Europeans are ever likely to have the chance of studying that dialect, spellings like *Po Mudo* and *Seripoh* should either have *Pa Muda* and *Sharifah* bracketed after them or appear in a glossary. *Djena* (p. 38) is a Dutch form, and *anak darah* (p. 32) for *dara* is an error founded on a wrong assumption.

Surely the Kelantan fisherman uses caulking (*gala-gala*) and not putty (p. 49) for his boats?

B. 754.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

WESTWARD THE COURSE. By PAUL MCGUIRE. 8 × 5, pp. 322.
W. Heinemann, Ltd., London. 15s.

This book of travel went to press in the United States two days after escapism had gone down before reality at Pearl Harbour. There is no easier introduction to Netherlands India, and the light-hearted versatility of the writer is symbolic of the genius of the nation that has already stayed the westward course of Japan's humourless empire. The information on peoples and their history is amazingly full and accurate, seasoned with epigrams and dressed in a vivid button-holing style. Try, for example, the author's Lampong cocktail (pp. 232-7) or savour such pungent *obiter dicta* as "Patience, industry, frugality, long-suffering: the Chinese are terrible in their virtues", or enjoy the artistry with which is sketched the arrival of the Chinese in Malacca (p. 295).

There is a regrettable number of misprints: *Purti* for *Putri*

(p. 290), *Abdulla* (p. 294) for *Abdullah*, *Swetenham* (p. 299) for *Swettenham*, *Tungko* (p. 315) for *Tengku*. The Malay States were federated not in 1896 (p. 297) but in 1895.

B. 755.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

India

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI. By ISHTIAQ HUSAIN QURESHI. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 288 + xvi. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf. Rs. 8.

In this valuable study of conditions in Northern India before the establishment of the Mogul Emperors, Dr. Qureshi proves with great wealth of illustration that much of the administrative system generally credited to Akbar was in fact inherited from the Sultans of various dynasties who preceded him. The system of the Sultans was itself based partly on the requirements of Islamic Law, and still more on established custom transmitted from Hindu rulers. It cannot, of course, be presumed that principles, however excellent in themselves, were observed or fully applied in practice. As Dr. Qureshi shows, large areas were left under Hindu tributaries, and the power of Muslim nobles within the Sultanate was liable to be akin to independence. In theory, however, the system of police and justice was sound. In view of the complaint recently made that the system of collective responsibility for the maintenance of order is contrary to justice, it is interesting to note that this system was enforced by so good a ruler as Sher Shah, and had been observed in India long before his time. Dr. Qureshi does establish that a real spirit of justice and benevolence guided the administration of the Sultans. Whether he is equally correct in asserting that the Hindus were better off under the Muslim Sultans than under Hindu tributaries or independent rulers, may be more open to doubt. As is admitted, this is not the impression to be gathered from Muslim chroniclers, and the developments of Hinduism such as the extension of the Bhakti cult might as easily have been due to oppression as to the tolerance which Dr. Qureshi assumes. He does show, however, that the Hindus retained a large share in the administration and that they acquired great wealth in many occupations. The fact that the Afghan soldiers of the Sultans had to be rescued from their indebtedness to Hindu moneylenders is at least evidence of the

financial power of the latter. No fault can be found with the spirit in which Dr. Qureshi writes. His book will be indispensable to any student of Indian institutions.

B. 756.

PATRICK CADELL.

PRACHĪN BĀṆGĀLĀ PATRA SAṆKALAN (A Collection of Old Bengali Letters). Records in Oriental Languages. Vol. I: Bengali Letters. General Editor, S. N. SEN, M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 501, with 10 plates. Calcutta University Press, 1942.

Two years ago the Government of India authorized their Keeper of Records to publish the Records in Oriental languages in his custody through private agencies. The Calcutta University agreed to publish a volume of Bengali records and the present selection is the result. The publication of the records in the other languages is held up owing to war conditions. Part I (384 pages) of this important work is in Bengali, and comprises the Editor's Note, the Introduction, which gives a description of the Period covered by the Letters, and other matters connected with them (87 pages), the Collection of the Letters (206 pages), a Glossary of words from the Letters that are no longer current (24 pages), a List of the Persons and Places mentioned in the Letters (10 pages), and a commentary of Notes on the Letters (30 pages).

Part II (117 pages) is in English, and consists of the Editor's Note, a Synopsis of the Letters, Biographical and Geographical Notes, and a Bibliography.

The 169 Letters concern the States of Cooch Behar, Cachar, Assam, and Manipur between A.D. 1772 and 1820, and give a picture of their internal dissensions and of the anarchy and confusion which existed until they were brought under effective British protection and control; and of the troubled relations, on account of continual encroachments and attacks, between Cooch Behar and Bhutan, and between Cachar and Assam under the Ahom rule. This is aptly summarized by the editor in the Title which he gives to his Introduction: "The Like-a-Fishpond of the North-East Frontier" (*Uttar-pūrbha Śimānter Mātsyanyāy*), in which the stronger fish all prey upon the weaker. The letters, as the English reader can see from the Synopsis, cover a great variety of subjects, but are mostly

complaints of one State, or party within it, against high-handedness or oppression by another, and requests for assistance by troops or weapons to resist it. But though they furnish interesting details they do not materially affect the already known history of the time.

The letters are of great interest in regard to the history and development of the Bengali language and Bengali prose. It is to be hoped that the material of the present letters and other early letters that may be forthcoming from District Record Rooms may be systematically examined for this purpose. Though there is a long period of Bengali poetry, Bengali prose literature originated during the period covered by their letters. That the Bengali language was then prevalent as the official language of North-Eastern India is shown by the fact that the rulers of Bhutan, Cooch-Behar, Assam, Manipur, and Cachar corresponded, not only with the English Government, but also with each other, in that language; and the letters show that French merchants in the mofasal used that language in writing to the English magistrate.

The large number of Archaic Bengali and non-Bengali words used in the letters is shown by the fact that the Glossary requires 24 pages. The large number of these Persian and Arabic words is owing to Persian having been the official language. It is interesting to note that the majority of these are Arabic; the Glossary contains 342 Arabic words and 274 Persian, and we have noticed others in the letters, which are not included.

From the examples of the writing given on the third, fourth, and fifth plates it will be seen that present-day handwriting has undergone a marked change. The first two plates give examples of printed Bengali from the *Calcutta Gazette* of 1786. This may be the earliest example of printed Bengali, as Carey did not come to India until 1793 and set up his printing press at Serampore later.

As similar Collections of Letters in the other languages are contemplated, the following points may be noted. It would have been an advantage for reference if the plates had been numbered, and also if the numbers of the letters from which the examples are given on the sixth plate had been given, so that the writing could be dated, and this also applies to the various seals in Bengali characters, which are shown on the last four plates. It would also have been an advantage if the Bengali Index, which only refers to the letters themselves, had also included the various matters

mentioned in the Introduction. On the sixth plate the right portion of the letter No. 140 has been cut off on the plate, and, as will be seen from the Bengali transcript of the letter on the opposite page 168, there are several words at the end of each line which are cut out on the plate.

B. 757.

E. H. C. WALSH.

ANŪPASIMHAGUṆĀVATĀRA. By VITTHALA KRISHNA. Edited by C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon). $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 103 + v pp. Anupasinha Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1942.

This poem, consisting of 10 avatāras, was composed by Vitthala Krishna, contemporary and no doubt favourite of his royal patron whom he extols in beautiful Sanskrit verse. Maharajah Anup Singhji (1669-1698) was the founder of the famous Bikaner Library (which possesses about 10,000 Sanskrit MSS.), and in his memory the Government of Bikaner has issued the present booklet as the Dedicatory Volume of the Ganga Oriental Series. The editor and translator, Dr. C. K. Raja, has performed both his tasks excellently. The Sanskrit print is of large and clear type, and the reading of this poem should afford real pleasure to any lover of classical Sanskrit poetry and to all students of Alamkāra.

B. 758.

W. STEDE.

SADDHAMMAPAJJOTIKĀ. Vol. III. Ed. by A. P. BUDDHADATTA. Pali Text Society, 1940.

With this third volume of the Saddhammapajjotikā (denoted wrongly Commentary on the *Mahā-niddesa*, but containing only the commentary on the Cullaniddesa and the Khaggavisāṇasutta) the Niddesa Commentary is concluded. Its editor started this laborious work in 1928 and provided an Introduction to the first volume (1931), supplemented by a corrective note in the second (1939). An index of words was attached to the first two volumes in consecutive paging; a similar index to the last volume follows its independent pages, and refers to the Cullaniddesa and the Khaggavisāṇasutta. The Saddhammapajjotikā is a late work and offers nothing new in method, style, and vocabulary. It belongs to the second classical (revival) period of Pali Literature, and has as its

author the Thera Upasena (end of ninth century). The editing of the work and the insertion of cross-references are done in a scholarly manner.

B. 759.

W. STEDE.

Islam

ISLAM TO-DAY. Ed. by A. J. ARBERRY and R. LANDAU. pp. 258, map 1, ill. 16. London: Faber and Faber, 1943. 12s. 6d.

Sixteen contributors have united to make this book. From the title one expects much; information about the government of a country, of which Islam is the religion, with enough history to enable the reader to understand the political situation, economic facts which determine the life of the people, and what influence Islam has had on the people with the effect they have had on it. Not more than one or two of the chapters, notably Miss Lambton's excellent contribution on Persia, satisfy these expectations; in most of them history or some other subject almost eclipses Islam. Oman and Bahrain are omitted completely and the Yemen is polished off in a note. What would the Imam say! In the chapter on Arabia some of the journalese could have been spared to make room for something on the relations between the Wahhabi government and the inhabitants of Mecca who, according to all accounts, suffer from being too near to holy things. What is the meaning of "the Imam Yahya . . . represents both the ruler and the government of his country"? He is ruler in name and in deed; he represents neither. In the chapter on Morocco the sunsets might have made way for some Berber superstitions which colour the white radiance of Islam. Those on Egypt and Syria, each written by a native of the country, look to education for salvation and each sees his own country as the centre of the future Islam. The problem of nationalism and an international Islam is hardly touched. Actual errors are few; the civil war between Abd al-Malik and Ibn al-Zubair was not fought in Syria; the reference on p. 116 to the *Futuh al-buldan* of al-Baladhuri seems to be wrong, for the men named are not in the index. The same tribe appears as Shleuh and Chleuh. The bibliography is perfunctory and the pictures haphazard.

B. 760.

A. S. TRITTON.

Miscellaneous

JESUS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY. By A. T. OLMSTEAD. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942.

Christianity is not just a system of theology, not even, as might be said of Buddhism, a body of teaching promulgated by an individual teacher ; it is a belief in a personal Redeemer, an historical Person. For the details of His life we depend mainly on four narratives which, though we call them Gospels, are in fact historical narratives and subject to criticism by ordinary historical methods. Orthodox Christians, not unnaturally, have tended to resent such criticism ; sceptics, by an equally natural reaction, to judge the Gospels by standards stricter than they would ever employ in dealing with secular history. There was certainly room in English for a work like the present, undertaken with no theological or anti-theological *parti-pris* ; and Professor Olmstead has obvious qualifications for his task. A learned Orientalist and a Semitic scholar, he is familiar with the world of Jewish thought and feeling which formed the mental background of Jesus, and also with that wider world of Semitic culture and belief out of which the Jews themselves sprang. He knows Palestine well and has followed the wanderings of Jesus from Nazareth to Golgotha. Lastly he has a real reverence for his subject, but at the same time handles the evidence from the point of view of the historian. He takes it for granted that real miracles, miracles, that is, which violate fundamental laws of nature, do not happen ; but he knows, too, that "miraculous cures" of certain diseases are well authenticated and accepts as historical the tradition of such cures wrought by Jesus. Nor does he countenance the absurd view, often put forward alike by sceptics and by believers, that we must accept or reject the Gospel narratives *en bloc* ; that if we refuse credence to their miraculous element we have no right to credit them in anything.

His work has a twofold object : on the one hand to illuminate the social and mental background of Jesus' activities, on the other, by sifting legend from history, to give the historical facts of his life. To quote the preface : "At long last, Jesus makes His own appearance in the full light of history."

In the first part of his programme Professor Olmstead is highly successful. His reconstruction, for example, of the education and literary background of Jesus is admirable, and his narrative is

full of vivid touches drawn from experience of the daily life, so constant amid all political and religious changes, of the Palestinian peasantry. Very interesting and instructive, too, is his sketch of the topography, though one may perhaps doubt whether some of the details are as well established as he makes them; for there is throughout an unfortunate tendency to present as established fact what is sometimes only more or less probable conjecture.

In his second object the author appears less successful. The wealth and range of his knowledge are more apparent than his sense of evidence. One would have expected, especially since he propounds some distinctly unorthodox views, that he would begin with a critical estimate, however summary, of our sources and a statement of his own views. There is no such statement, and we are left to gather from footnotes and casual remarks or from the author's previous publications the view that St. John's Gospel, regarded by him as the work of the disciple "whom Jesus loved", is historically the most authoritative of the four, as it is, in his view, the earliest, the work of an eye-witness and published "shortly after the crucifixion" (p. 255; before A.D. 40, p. 159, note 19), though in its present form much altered by an editor. This theory is so utterly at variance with accepted views that it ought surely to have been justified in detail. On what is it based? Mainly on such passages as John vii, 40-42, and the absence of any indication that the writer knew of the Bethlehem story. This is an argument which deserves attention, but it is by no means conclusive. That Professor Olmstead should think it is may arise from his peculiar view of the Gospel. There is no suggestion anywhere in his volume that this Gospel differs from the others not merely in degree of authority but in kind. John's account of the Last Supper, Trial, and Crucifixion may be in certain details more accurate than that of the Synoptists, and some vivid touches here and elsewhere may suggest, though they do not prove, the testimony of an eye-witness; but there is a general consensus of opinion that his aim was not so much an historical record as a spiritual interpretation of Jesus. The long discourses, so individual in style, seem to be an explanatory expansion rather than a verbatim report of what Jesus said; the incidents told are selected for their symbolic significance or to introduce a theological discourse. Yet Professor Olmstead uses this Gospel throughout as his primary authority for the life of Jesus, merely supplementing or, very rarely, correcting it from the others.

Statements apparently introduced for dramatic effect are taken literally as historical, like that referred to above. Similarly, if the Jews say to Jesus "Thou art not yet fifty years old", that justifies the eccentric dating of his birth to about 20 B.C. The argument here is peculiar: the Jews said, shortly before the Crucifixion, that Jesus was *not* fifty; ergo, he *was* fifty when he was crucified; the date of the Crucifixion was 7th April, A.D. 30; ergo, Jesus was born about 20 B.C. It is not a method of reasoning which carries conviction, and it is not helped by a second argument, that the Jews would not accept as a prophet a man younger than fifty—an argument completely disposed of by Professor Carl H. Kraeling in *Angl. Theol. Rev.* xxiv, 1942, 334-354. How insensitive Professor Olmstead can be to John's spiritual value is shown by his reference to the Evangelist's "long-winded sermons". This of a Gospel which is surely one of the most beautiful books ever written.

The original John, however, according to Professor Olmstead, has been edited by a later hand, and parts of the existing Gospel must be rejected. How are these identified? We find throughout the volume certain fundamental conceptions, not all of them explicitly stated, among them the following: The ministry of Jesus lasted less than two years, in fact exactly 475 days; Jesus never claimed to be the Messiah; his teaching seems to have contained no apocalyptic element; he had much in common with the Pharisees, with whom his relations were always friendly, and "all the passages where Pharisees are bracketed with scribes, high priests, Herodians, or other opponents of Jesus, are interpolations". One would suppose these views to be derived from a study of the texts, and it is disquieting to find them apparently used as axiomatic criteria by which to judge the very authorities on whom we depend.

As regards the Pharisees, one's faith in the author's judgment is a little shaken by a remark on p. 107, where, referring to Jesus' challenging of popular opinion on Sabbath observance, he adds: "Why he should take this attitude we cannot explain." Surely the reason is obvious. Nothing is more evident than Jesus' hatred of *externality* in religion: it was the inside, not the outside of the cup, that must be kept clean. The Sabbath was becoming as burdensome to the Jews as the Christian Sunday to Victorian England, and Jesus wished to emphasize that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. Whatever the virtues of the Pharisees, they were before all things formalists, and Jesus' defiance

of formalism was bound to bring him into conflict with them, friendly as might be his relations with individual members of the sect. But Professor Olmstead's treatment of the texts is curiously arbitrary. Take the conversation with the woman of Samaria (John iv, 3-42). The earlier part he records, closely following John, as if it were perfectly historical, but having repeated the woman's statement, "I know that Messiah comes," he says "Jesus' reply has been edited and we do not know what he said". We know perfectly well what he is reported to have said, and that on the same authority as the rest, John's Gospel. So, too, in dealing with the sermon in John vi; he expresses his regret that "the editor has not preserved the content of this sermon", rejecting what stands in the text as an editorial interpolation. How can he so certainly differentiate between "John" and his editor? He may be right in thinking that Jesus never claimed to be the Messiah but he makes no serious attempt to prove this; and if he is right one cannot but feel that the task of disentangling true from false is a very much more complex and difficult process than he seems to think.

I must add that Professor Olmstead's painstaking attempt at a chronological narrative of Jesus' life seems to me misplaced. The order of certain events, like the Baptism and those preceding the Crucifixion, is no doubt fixed, but for the rest it seems overwhelmingly probable that what the Evangelists and their sources had before them was a mass of isolated sayings and incidents which, because some order must be observed, each of them arranged as suited his individual scheme but with little relation to actual chronology; and it seems improbable that any modern reconstruction can hope to attain more than the most conjectural character.

Many statements in the volume are by no means so certain as their dogmatic enunciation may suggest; but the book is one of fascinating interest and of great learning, and many even of the author's most unorthodox views may be well grounded and certainly call for consideration. If he does not quite give us Jesus "in the full light of history" he does give a reverent and very meritorious, though largely subjective, reconstruction of His life and teaching founded on careful study and profound knowledge.

EUROPEANS IN WEST AFRICA, 1450-1560. Translated and edited by J. W. BLAKE, M.A. 2 Vols. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1942.

This work is a compilation of translations of documents. It carries on and amplifies the record of the discovery and conquest of Guinea, which for the period 1415 to 1448 is found in the chronicles of Azurara and the voyages of Cadamosto. The documents "illustrate the nature and scope of Portuguese enterprise in West Africa, the abortive attempt of Castilians to create an empire there, and the early English voyages to Barbary and Guinea". They cover Portuguese exploration from 1462 to 1480, Portuguese trade, the growth of Portugal's West African settlements from 1481 to 1530, and the decline of her influence from 1530 to 1557. In Section II a number of contemporary records, translated into English, bear upon the remarkable series of Castilian voyages to West Africa undertaken during the years 1454 to 1480 which, as the translator remarks, "arouse interest in a subject which provides a new background for the Columbine (1492) voyages". Section III contains records of English maritime activity in West Africa from 1480-1560.

Section I of Volume I deals with the first century of Portuguese enterprise in West Africa, with the discovery of the West African Coast 1462-1480, with the important trading station of Arguim near Cape Verde and its connection with the ancient desert trade in gold and slaves which had existed all through the era of Moslem dominion in North Africa and the Sudan; with Santiago Island and the mainland between the Senegal and Sierra Leone; with the fort on the Gold Coast now called El Mina; and with San Thomé Island and the Guinea Coast from the Volta to Cape St. Catherine.

Many of the documents are extremely interesting, as for instance the grant of an exclusive licence to trade with Guinea by Affonso V of Portugal to one Fernão Gomes of Lisbon in 1469 for five years at 200,000 reis a year "on condition that in each of these five years he should engage to discover one hundred leagues of coast further on"; the foundation of the castle and city of Sao Jovre de Mina (El Mina); the building of the fort at Sierra Leone by King John II of Portugal; the discovery of the kingdom of Benin, the conversion of Bemoym, a Joloff chief, to Christianity; and the attempt to build a fort at the mouth of the River Senegal in 1488. Another interesting record concerns the transport of Jews to settle in the Island of San Thomé in 1493, which recalls the fact that the original

Portingals of the Gambia Valley were very largely half-breeds of Jewish parentage on the paternal side. Conditions at Arguim castle in November, 1510, are graphically described, as are preparations for the dispatch of missionaries from Portugal to Benin in November, 1514.

In 1557 Francisco Pires reports to Queen Catherine from El Mina "that the Coast is overrun by corsairs", that is by ships of other nations than Portugal.

Section II of Volume I deals with the early Castilian voyages to West Africa, the first known (1453-4) being mentioned in a letter from King Affonso V of Portugal to King John II of Castile. In 1480 the same King Affonso V of Portugal is ordering his captains to "cast into the sea the crews of ships found beyond the Canaries".

Until about 1550 the Papal Bull of 1493 which divided the New World between Spain and Portugal was respected by England and France, but in 1553 a Portuguese refugee piloted two English ships to the River Sestos, while by 1560 the merchants of Dieppe had established regular trade with Senegal and Cape Verde. In 1588 Queen Elizabeth granted letters patent to merchants of London, Exeter, and Barnstaple to trade in Senegal and Gambia.

The documents in vol. ii shed a new light on the earlier English voyages, for an extract from Pina's *Chronicle of John II of Portugal* shows that as early as 1482, in the reign of Edward IV of England, John Tintam and William Fabian planned to sail to Mina (el Mina) on the Gold Coast but were prevented by King Edward on the urgent representations of the Portuguese ambassador. These English adventurers had been encouraged by the Spanish Duke of Medina Sidonia to undertake the voyage, and King Edward IV himself had actually petitioned the Pope on 27th February, 1481, for leave to make voyages to Africa "as it is advantageous to the Christian Religion that wealth and other things, precious for their natural excellence, should be drawn into its power from the hands of the infidels". In 1488 also a certain Count of Penamacor was imprisoned in the Tower of London by the King of England at the instance of the King of Portugal for trying to organize an expedition to Guinea. In 1530-2 William Hawkins the elder of Plymouth made a voyage to Guinea and Brazil.

There follow accounts of voyages by Windham (1551-3), John Lok (1554-5), Martin Frobisher (1555), Towerson (1555-8), and others.

The work presents in a convenient compass a more comprehensive and varied picture of the impact on the West Coast of Africa in the century 1450-1550 of the merchant adventurers of Portugal, Spain, and England than is accessible in any other work in English, and it should therefore be valuable to students of a period when exploration and commercial exploitation of Senegal and Guinea became the stepping stone to discovery of the sea route to Asia via the Cape, and the sea route to America via Guinea and the West Indies.

B. 762.

H. R. PALMER.

ANNIVERSARY GENERAL MEETING

13th May, 1943

During the year the following Members died :—

Professors M. Canney, E. H. Johnston, Th. Stcherbatsky ;
Messrs. R. M. Antani, H. Codrington, M. Rooke, David Sassoon,
and Mrs. Ayscough MacNair.

We owe Professor A. H. Harley our deep but happy apologies
for the erroneous insertion of his name under this heading last year.

The following resigned :—

Mr. Sarat Kumar Ray and Mrs. M. A. Holmes.

The following took up their election :—

Sir Josiah Crosby, Dr. A. Kunst, Captains R. B. Dent and T. A.
Shurlock, Messrs. Abdullah bin Muhammad, Satyaprasad Bhatta-
charjee, L. Bohdanowicz, R. S. Cohn, M. Gaguine, W. Hauser,
R. Maitland Muller, Khaja Rahimuddin, and B. Szczesniak, and
Miss B. Whittingham-Jones.

Lectures.

"The Sculpture of Indochina, Siam, and Java," by Dora
Gordine (Hon. Mrs. Richard Hare).

"Netherlands India," by Dr. M. van Blankenstein.

"Oriental Studies in the U.S.S.R., 1917-1942," by Professor
Minorsky.

"The Common Classical Sources of Buddhist and Christian
Narrative Art," by Dr. H. Buchthal.

"Annam," by Mr. Alan Brodrick.

"Classical Contacts with Indian Art," by Mr. K. de B.
Codrington.

"The Dances in Bali and their Indian Antecedents," by Miss B. de
Zoete.

Universities Essay Prize.—There were no candidates.

Burton Memorial Medal.—This was awarded to Mr. H. Ingrams.

THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1941				241	16	3
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	195	6	0			
Non-Resident Members	383	2	0			
Students and Miscellaneous	18	7	5			
				597	15	5
DONATIONS—						
A. K. Coomaraswamy	5	0	0			
R. Curiel	1	17	0			
				6	17	0
GRANTS—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
Government of Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
Government of Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
Government of Hong Kong	10	0	0			
British Academy (1942 and 1943)	400	0	0			
				785	0	0
RENTS RECEIVED				279	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	233	12	0			
Additional Copies sold	14	1	6			
Pamphlets sold	9	0				
				248	2	6
DIVIDENDS				73	16	10
SALE OF CATALOGUE				35	18	6
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				4	6	
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				2	12	0
LANDLORD'S PROPORTION OF WAR DAMAGE CONTRIBU-						
TION				43	5	0
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				68	5	1

£2,381 13 11

INVESTMENTS

£1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960-90.

NOTE

£1,180 5s. 8d. is outstanding as a liability, to be transferred to a separate compounded subscription account when general funds permit.

PAYMENTS FOR 1942

PAYMENTS

[illegible]

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

Countersigned { N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
W. PEEL, Auditor for the Council.
E. B. Howell, Auditor for the Society.

30th September, 1943.

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND, 1942

BALANCE, 1/1/42	£	s.	d.	BALANCE REPRESENTED	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
TRANSFER FROM GENERAL ACCOUNT .	79	5	7	BY £748 1s. 4d. 3½%						
DIVIDENDS TO BE RE-INVESTED .	30	10	6	War Stock	769	16	1			
	25	5	5	Cash at Bank	25	5	5			
								795	1	6
	<u>£795</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>					<u>£795</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1942

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
BALANCE, 1/1/42	.	.	95 8 3	SUNDRIES	.	.	2 1 9
SALES	.	.	17 18 4	STORAGE OF STOCK	.	.	12 1 5
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT	.	.	5 11	31/12/42 BALANCE CARRIED TO	.	*	99 9 4
				SUMMARY	.	.	
			<u>£113 12 6</u>				<u>£113 12 6</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPH FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/42	120 16 10	31/12/42 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
SALES	7 15 2	SUMMARY	128 12 0
	<u>£128 12 0</u>		<u>£128 12 0</u>

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES 31st DEC., 1942

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	99	9	4	CASH AT BANK—					
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONO-				On Current Account	168	1	4		
GRAPH FUND	128	12	0	On Deposit Account	60	0	0		
								228	1 4
	<u>£228</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>					<u>£228</u>	<u>1 4</u>

INVESTMENTS. NU.

TRUST FUNDS, 1942

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/42	121 12 2	31/12/42 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
SALES	18 0 11	SUMMARY	157 13 1
DIVIDENDS	18 0 0		
	<u>£157 13 1</u>		<u>£157 13 1</u>

GOLD MEDAL FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/42	59 6 5	31/12/42 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
DIVIDENDS	9 15 0	SUMMARY	69 1 5
	<u>£69 1 5</u>		<u>£69 1 5</u>

UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND

[illegible]

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

BALANCE, 1/1/42	£	s.	d.	31/12/42 BALANCE CARRIED TO	£	s.	d.
DIVIDENDS	124	7	10	SUMMARY	136	4	2
	11	16	4				
	£136	4	2		£136	4	2

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1942

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	157	13	1	31/12/42 CASH AT BANK ON	526	10	10
GOLD MEDAL FUND	69	1	5	CURRENT ACCOUNT			
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND	163	12	2				
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT	136	4	2				
	£526	10	10		£526	10	10

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
 £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
 £40 3½% Conversion Stock 1961 ("B" account).
 Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Promissory Note No. 034904 of 1879 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1942

BALANCE, 1/1/42	9	18	0	BALANCE—CASH AT BANK ON	11	7	8
DIVIDENDS	1	9	8	CURRENT ACCOUNT			
	£11	7	8		£11	7	8

BURTON FUND INVESTMENT

£49 10s. Local Loans 3% Stock.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1942

BALANCE, 1/1/42	321	9	11	BINDING VOL. II	5	5	0
DIVIDENDS	187	6	2	PRINTING 500 VOL. XXI	180	14	6
SALES	44	9	3	R.A.S. 10% COMMISSION ON 1940			
				SALES	2	12	0
				BALANCE—			
				CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT	344	13	10
				ACCOUNT			
	£533	5	4		£533	5	4

FORLONG FUND INVESTMENT

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942-62.
 £1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4% Inscribed Stock 1940-60.
 £1,010 Bengal-Nagpur Railway 4% Debenture Stock.
 £1,143 6s. 8d. India 3½% Inscribed Stock.
 £700 3½% Conversion Loan 1961 ("A" account).
 £45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
 £253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Loan ("A" account).

Audit.—The auditors certified the correctness of the accounts of the various Funds administered by the Society.

Society's Publications, 1942-3.—Owing to war conditions there were no publications except the *Journal*.

Donations.—The Council is deeply indebted to the British Academy for a further donation of £200, and to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy and Mr. R. Curiel for private donations.

His Grace the Duke of Westminster again remitted £100 of the normal rent of our premises.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

For the first time the Secretary of State for India on the invitation of the Society, nominated a member of Council, Lieut.-Col. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, O.B.E., LL.D. (Hon. London), D.S. (Hon. Calcutta), M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., who was duly elected.

Sir Richard Winstedt was nominated President; Professor R. L. Turner, Director; Sir John Marshall an Honorary Vice-President; Sir Richard Burn and Sir Oliver Wardrop, Vice-Presidents; Professor E. D. Edwards as Honorary Secretary; Dr. L. D. Barnett, Honorary Librarian; and Mr. J. H. Lindsay, Honorary Treasurer. Sir Patrick Cadell, Drs. A. J. Arberry and R. B. Whitehead, and Messrs. K. de B. Codrington and R. E. Enthoven were nominated members of Council.

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